

THE
Historical Register,

Containing
An Impartial RELATION
of all TRANSACTIONS, *Foreign*
and *Domestick*.

WITH A

Chronological Diary

OF ALL

The remarkable OCCURRENCES,
viz. Births, Marriages, Deaths, Removals,
Promotions, &c. that happen'd in this
Year: Together with the *Characters* and
Parentage of Persons deceas'd, of emi-
nent Rank.

VOLUME XX.

For the Year 1735.

L O N D O N,

Printed and sold by S. NEVILL in the Old Baily, near
Ludgate, where compleat Sets and single Parts may be
had, at 1 s. each Register. Sold also by E. Nutt at the
Royal Exchange, R. Gosling in Fleet-street, D. Browne
without Temple-Bar; C. King in Westminster Hall, and
at the Sun Fire-Office behind the Royal Exchange.

6

The TABLE.

<i>Sale of French East-India Goods at Port l'Orient in Bre-</i>	
<i>tany,</i>	177, 178
<i>Generosity of the young Prince of Conti,</i>	178
<i>Detail of the Difference between Spain and Portugal, with</i>	
<i>all the Manifestoes, Letters, &c. thereupon,</i>	178, 192
<i>List of the British Men of War sent to Lisbon on that</i>	
<i>Account,</i>	193
<i>The Spanish Ministers Memorial, and a Piece publish'd at</i>	
<i>Madrid, entitled, Considerations on the Expedition of the</i>	
<i>British Fleet,</i>	124, 202
<i>Answer of Mr. Keene, the British Minister at Madrid,</i>	
<i>to those two Pieces,</i>	202, 203
<i>Remainder of his Imperial Majesty's Answer to the Spanish</i>	
<i>Memorial or Manifesto,</i>	204, 217
<i>Emperor's Memorial to his Allies,</i>	218, 221
<i>————— to the Maritime Powers,</i>	221, 230
<i>————— Rescript about the Russian Auxiliaries,</i>	231
<i>Letter from the Duke of Bavaria to the Emperor,</i>	233
<i>Answer of his Imperial Majesty to the Duke of Bavaria's</i>	
<i>Letter,</i>	235
<i>Plan of Accommodation projected by the Maritime Powers,</i>	237, 242
<i>Answer of the French Ministers to the said Plan,</i>	241
<i>———— of the Emperor to the said Plan,</i>	243
<i>Further Declaration of his Imperial Majesty upon that Head,</i>	243
<i>Second Answer of the French Court on the same Subject,</i>	244
<i>Answer of Spain and Sardinia,</i>	244
<i>Another Plan of Pacification handed about at Paris,</i>	245
<i>Memorial of his Excellency Horatio Walpole, Esq; to the</i>	
<i>States General,</i>	246
<i>Their High Mightinesses Resolution thereupon,</i>	247
<i>Further Declaration of the French King to the British Em-</i>	
<i>bassador,</i>	248
<i>Proceedings in the first Session of the present Parliament,</i>	249
<i>Motion in the House of Lords, for an Address to his Maje-</i>	
<i>sty, and the Debates thereupon,</i>	250, 274
<i>Motion in the House of Commons, for an Address to his Ma-</i>	
<i>jesty, and the Debates thereupon,</i>	275, 292
<i>His Majesty's Answer to the Commons Address,</i>	292
<i>Motion in the House of Commons for employing 30,000 Men</i>	
<i>in Sea-Service for the Year 1735, with the Debates</i>	
<i>thereupon,</i>	293

End of the Table.

T H E

Historical Register.

NUMBER LXXVII.

G R E A T B R I T A I N .



As no Foreign Transactions can so immediately affect either the Honour or Interest of Great Britain, as the Conduct of those Gentlemen, whom Britons send to represent them in the great Council of the Nation; we shall, prior to all other Affairs, continue the Debates in the 7th Session of the last Parliament; and entirely dedicate this 77th Number of our *Historical Register* to Parliamentary Proceedings. *Noel Somers.*

We closed Number 76, with Lord *Nelson*'s Speech on a Motion made by *William Bley*, Esq; *That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for repealing the Septennial Act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling Parliaments; but as Sir Thomas Robinson, Member for Mottish in Northamptonshire, spoke against the Motion before his Lordship spoke in Favour of it, we think ourselves obliged to insert his Speech in the Beginning of this Number, tho' it was inadvertently left out of the last, that we may continue that Impartiality, which is promis'd in our Title Page, and which has hitherto so confessedly reigned throughout the whole Course of this Work.*

Thos Robinson.
Sir *T* *s* *R* *n.*

S I R,

I Cannot content myself with barely giving a Negative to this Proposition, but must beg your Indulgence in offering a few Reasons which will induce me to be against it; and to make two or three Observations upon what

A

what

what was fallen from the honourable Gentlemen who have introduced and spoke in Favour of it.

In my Opinion, we should fix the Duration of Parliaments to a shorter or a longer Period, according as 'twill promote the Welfare of the Nation, and support and strengthen our present Constitution; and when that is once fixed, the Consideration, whether the Thing be popular or unpopular, or whether it may be consonant to the Practice of our Ancestors, ought not to influence any Gentleman in giving his Vote.

It has been said by the honourable Gentleman who spoke first, that the renewing of the *Triennial Bill*, will lessen the Expences at Elections. I think nothing is more demonstrable, than that frequent Elections will always occasion frequent Expences, and other Irregularities too notorious not to lie within the Compass of every Man's Observation; and that Men's Minds, which never fail to be inflam'd in a Contest between two Parties, will always preserve those Heats in View of a quick Return of electing: That these and many other Inconveniencies can be fairly charged on *Triennial Elections* is indisputably true; and if *Septennial Parliaments* do not entirely remove these Evils, at least they mitigate their Influence.

Gentlemen have urged, that Expences at Elections are voluntary; this is, indeed, in some Measure true; but by this Alteration of the Law, the Temptation will never be at a great Distance; the Opportunity for Corruption, Idleness and Debauchery, will happen once in three Years, instead of once in seven; for I am afraid the Law we have lately made, which the honourable Gentleman who made the Motion, has taken Notice of, cannot yet have produced the good Effect we expected from it: Reforms of any Kind cannot be brought about on a sudden, especially in Things of this Nature, where the lower Class of the People are Parties concern'd.

The Law for *Triennial Parliaments* continued in Force for 22 Years: In that Time many Inconveniencies were found to arise from it; and it was likewise found, that in many Respects it did not answer the End for which it was made. I think it lies upon those Gentlemen who are Advocates for this Proposition, and which ought to be the Foundation of their Arguments in support of it, to shew us what the Evils are which are attendant upon *Septennial Parliaments*, and how they would be removed by

by the Alteration proposed : If they had done this, if any such Thing could be done, the Argument would have some Weight ; but to me this appears so far from being the Case, that on the contrary, how many good Laws have passed in, Favour of the Subject, how little Reason have the People of *England* to be displeased with the Actions of their Representatives since the *Septennial Act* took Place, which is 18 Years ago ? What is done within every Man's Memory, cannot be liable to any Misrepresentation. Histories of former Parliaments, or of past Times, may be partially related ; but our own Experience cannot deceive us ; and I appeal to those who now hear me, whether we have yet had any Reason to complain of the Conduct of *Septennial Parliaments*.

And besides, there is no Mischief can be done the Subject in a *Septennial Parliament*, which may not be done in a *Triennial* ; but on the contrary, the short Duration of a *Triennial*, will not allow sufficient Time to the compleating many good Undertakings, which may be accomplished by a *Septennial* ; Mischief being of its own Nature of quick Growth, and soon brought to Maturity ; whereas Schemes for a general Good, ripen by slow Degrees, and require a Length of Time in rearing up to Perfection.

Gentlemen have brought Arguments in Support of this Proposition from the Practice and Laws of our Forefathers, and deduce the Expediency of the *Triennial Bill*, from the original Formation of our Constitution. For my Part, I do not comprehend what is meant by our old Constitution, and therefore when Gentlemen make Use of the Expression, *Our Old Constitution*, I must look upon it as an indefinite Term, which can admit of no direct Answer : But would they fix it to a Reign, or to any certain Number of Years, I could undertake to shew, that in no Period of Time they shall fix on, since the Conquest, we ever had such an one as we should be now willing to submit to, and rest satisfy'd with : I know of no settled Constitution 'till the Revolution ; 'tis from that happy Period I date our having any at all. It may indeed be agreeable to the ancient Laws of the Realm, that there should be frequent Parliaments, that is, that Parliaments should be frequently holden ; but from whence will Gentlemen prove, that it has been establish'd as a fundamental Maxim in what is call'd our old Constitution, that there should be frequent Elections ; sure

at least I am, if the Nature of our Constitution requir'd that there should be such, the Practice of our Ancestors has not always corresponded with it.

It would be a tedious Task to shew in what Manner Parliaments have been called and holden, and to trace out of the Variations of our Laws, or rather Practice, in this Respect, since the Conquest, 200 Years after which, I believe, there was no such Thing in Being as a House of Commons, at least, if there was any such Assembly, they met but very seldom: But Gentlemen's Thoughts will prevent me in what I could offer on this Head, and therefore I shall not enter into a Detail of Particulars, with which many others may be much better acquainted; only, in general, I will venture to say, that from the earliest Records of Time to the Revolution, the Crown made Use of their Prerogative so far with Regard to Parliaments, that the People never knew when there would be a new Election, or how long the Power, they gave their Representatives when elected, might be continued to them: If we look back into our History, we shall find, in some Reigns, Parliaments chosen by the People, and dissolved by the Crown, before they were suffer'd to meet at all; in other Reigns, a very long Intermision of Parliaments; and in others again a Parliament perhaps in Being, but for many Years successively not once suffer'd to sit. These were real Grievances; and in this reforming Age, we seem to be as uneasy, and as fond of taking Precautions against imaginary Dangers, as ever our Ancestors were about providing against those that were real.

My worthy Friend and Contemporary at the University, who seconded the Motion, has shewn the Practice of several of our former Kings in this Particular, and indeed has spoken in Favour of the Motion, with so much Decency and Weight, that it requires one much better skill'd than I am in our *English* History and Parliamentary Proceedings, to do the same Justice to the other Side of the Question; but he has quoted two Reigns, which will, in my Opinion, both turn against the Motion he has so handsomely supported. These are the Reigns of King *Charles I.* and King *Charles II.* but before I take Notice of them, give me Leave to mention another Reign, I mean that of Queen *Elizabeth*, which both the worthy Gentlemen have very prudently avoided mentioning on this Occasion, tho' it be a Reign that is seldom forgot to be brought upon the Carpet, when a Comparison

Comparison is to be made made, in order to depreciate the Actions and Measures of the present Times: In the long Reign of that Queen, a Reign which lasted 44 Years, there were in all but ten Parliaments chosen, in these ten Parliaments there were but 13 Sessions, and, except the last, never any one of these Sessions continu'd many Weeks together. Besides, however glorious the Reign of that Princess may be in other Respects, yet it is certain, that in many Instances she us'd her Parliaments in such a Manner, as, I hope, we shall never see Parliaments treated for the future.

As for the Reign of King *Charles I.* I little expected that Reign would have been introduced in this Debate, especially by those who are Advocates for this Question; for surely that Reign ought to be buried in Oblivion, by those who would plead for the Liberty of the Subject, and are for lessening the Prerogative of the Crown; because, in no preceding Reign was the last carry'd higher, or the other in greater Danger of being utterly subverted and destroy'd. Were it necessary for the Point I am contending for, I would undertake to prove, that as long as he had any Power, he was daily attempting, by his Prerogative, to have made Parliaments useless; and therefore I shall easily agree with the honourable Gentleman, that he neglected calling frequent new Parliaments; but give me Leave further to observe, that during that King's Reign, no Parliament was called, there was not so much as one in Being, no, not for 12 Years together; during which Time, History does not give the most favourable Account of him with Respect to his several Attempts on the Liberties of his Subjects, which the honourable Gentleman has put a very handsome Gloss upon, by saying that these Attempts were made by the Advice of Sycophants and Flatterers: Whoever the Authors were, the Facts are true, and the Consequences, had they not been prevented, must have proved fatal to the Rights of the People. When I have said this, I would not have it understood as if I approv'd of the Steps afterwards taken, by which that unfortunate Prince was brought to his tragical and untimely End; but as his Fate ought to be a Warning to all future Princes, not to make any Encroachments upon the Liberties or Privileges of the Subject, so it ought to be a Warning to all those who are true Lovers of our Constitution, to be extremely cautious of introducing any new Regulations or unnecessary Amendments. And this I take to be a Lesson much more proper

proper for the present Question than that which my honourable Friend has been pleased to recommend to us from the Fate of that Prince ; since the Question is not now about complimenting the Crown with any new or extravagant Powers, nor about denying the People any of those Rights which they are entitled to by Law.

I was equally surprised to hear the Long Parliament of King *Charles II.* (which continu'd 17 Years) so much as mention'd by those who are for short'ning the Duration of Parliaments ; for, in my Opinion, the Conduct of that Parliament, if it proves any Thing, shews, that the long Duration of a Parliament does not necessarily make it entirely subservient to the Will of the Prince. Tho' that Parliament has since been treated with great Indignity, tho' I will not now take upon me to determine whether it deserved the Usage it has met with from some People ; yet I think I may say, that a Majority of the Members thereof, especially towards the End of it, were steady in the Support of the Liberties of the People ; and had not they made a noble Stand against the Attempts of the Crown in those Days, we should not now have been debating this Point.

Thus, the Instance of this Parliament, if it proves any Thing, I say, proves that the Parliament which fate the longest ever any did in *England*, could not be influenced by the Crown to come into Measures inconsistent with the Liberties of the People : And if Gentlemen will but recollect the Annals of that Parliament, they will find that it was more subservient to the Court, the first, second, and third Years, than it was the sixth or seventh ; and it was less so the eleventh or twelfth, than it was the ninth or tenth : And I agree with the honourable Gentleman, the further it remov'd from its Original, the better Title the Members acquired to the Denomination of Veteran Troops, which he has been pleased to compare them to ; but this Title they merited for a Reason very different from what he has assign'd : It was not because they knew no other Command but from the Person who gave them their Pay, but it was because they became every Day more and more observant of their Duty, more watchful over the Liberties of their Fellow Subjects, and less tractable to the Measures of the Court ; insomuch that at last, by their persevering in an honest Opposition to those Measures, they forced their own Dissolution ; and this always has been, and always must be the Case as to all Bodies of the same Men, when long kept

kept together, and attempted to be seduced by Bribery and Corruption; for few Men are so entirely debauched and abandon'd to Shame, but that sooner or later they will be actuated by the Love of Virtue and Publick Good, which will at last make them stubbornly resist the Designs of a profligate Court against the Liberties of their Country: And this was certainly the Case as to that Parliament, otherwise King *Charles* would not so easily have parted with a Parliament he had been so long, and with so much Expence, endeavouring to form to his own arbitrary Views; therefore, if any Argument is to be drawn from this long Parliament, it may certainly be made Use of as the strongest Reason why a *Septennial Parliament* should be preferred to a *Triennial*.

As a further Proof that the Balance of Power in the State, is demonstrably more in Favour of the People in a Parliament that hath its Duration for seven Years, than in one chosen every third Year; and that the Crown will always have less Influence in a *Septennial* than a *Triennial Parliament*: Let us but recollect what has happen'd ever since the *Septennial Law* took Place; as the honourable Gentleman who spoke last has already observed, does not Experience shew us, that every Session will increase an opposing Party? Has it not been hitherto always found, that the Party against the Court has, in every fifth or sixth Session, been more in Number than it was the second or third? And as no Step has been made to increase either the Prerogative or Power of the Crown ever since *Septennial Parliaments* have had a Being, why should we go about to make an Alteration in that Part of our Constitution, from which we have never yet felt the least Inconvenience? Might not therefore a Desire to revert back to the Practice of our Ancestors in this Particular, be compared to a Man in his full Growth and Strength, desiring to return back to his Childhood.

It has, indeed, been insinuated by both the honourable Gentlemen who have spoken on the other Side of the Question, that undue Influence has been attempted in Elections; that Money has been sent down from the Treasury to gain Returns from Boroughs in the Country; by which the Elections have been rendred so expensive to the Country Gentlemen that it is with great Difficulty they can from their private Fortunes support such Expence, or withstand such Influence; and this is indeed the principal Argument I have yet heard made Use of in
Support

Support of this Question : Tho' I am no Way privy to, nor do I believe that any such Practices have been lately attempted; yet upon this Occasion, I will for Argument's Sake suppose it to be true; I will suppose that the Court does intermeddle in Elections, and that Sums of Money have been sent into the Country for that Purpose; but how this comes to be owing to *Septennial Parliaments* I cannot comprehend: Would it not be as much in the Power of the Court to intermeddle in the Elections for a *Triennial*, as in those for a *Septennial Parliament*? And if a Country Gentleman can scarce bear up against these Practices when he has six Years Respite to recover of the Expences and Trouble he may have been put to by such Attempts on his Borough; for God's sake! How will it stand with him when the Battle is to be fought every three Years? Surely he will be then much less able to bear such Expences, or to withstand such Influence; and therefore if the Court ever has endeavoured, or if it ever should endeavour to influence Elections by the Force of Money, that Influence would be much more dangerous in *Triennial* than in *Septennial Elections*; from whence I must be of Opinion, if this Question should succeed, it might in Time more effectually establish the absolute Power of the Crown, and destroy the Liberties of the People, that any other Method that could be thought of.

The worthy Gentleman who made the Motion has told us, that an Annuity for seven Years is more valuable than an Annuity for three, and from thence he seems to infer, that a *Septennial Parliament* must be more expensive than a *Triennial*, in the same Proportion as an Annuity for seven Years deserves a better Consideration than an Annuity for three: But he does not consider that a Parliament for seven Years is above twice the Duration of one for three; so that if *Triennial Parliaments* were to come in the Place of *Septennial*, a Man must be thrice chosen before he can continue so long in this House as he would do were he to be chosen for seven Years at once; and it is certain that the Expences or the Purchase (if with him we suppose such Purchases) of three, or even of two Elections for *Triennial Parliaments*, will always amount to more than the Expences or the Purchase of one Election for a *Septennial*.

If then the Expensiveness of Elections be one of the Evils attendant on *Septennial Parliaments*, it is certain the changing of them into *Triennial*, will be so far from

from removing that Evil, that it will necessarily increase it. And I believe some Gentlemen will, in another Particular, find their Expectations as little answer'd by the present Motion: I mean, that they will not find it so popular a Motion among the generality of Electors as some of them may imagine. It may, indeed, please those of the Populace who have no Votes, who are fond of Noise and Bustle, and who would be glad of any Change by which they might have a more frequent Chance to get drunk and be idle. It may also be agreeable to the lower and meaner Sort of our Electors, who have heretofore perhaps too often made their Market on such Occasions; but to the honest Shop-keeper, and the quiet and fair Trader, who have no other Views but to gain a comfortable Subsistence, by carrying on their respective Trades, and to the better Kind of our Freeholders, and to the Gentry in general; to all those Sorts of Men, in short, whose Inclinations we ought to have the chief Regard to, the proposing of this Bill will be found, I believe, not to be a very proper Way of paving court.

The worthy Gentlemen who have spoken on the other Side of the Question, make a very partial Use of our ancient Constitution, when they plead for a shorter Duration of Parliaments, because in former Times, Instances may be found of frequent Elections, but forget at the same Time to remind us of the different Situation of our Affairs, both at home and abroad. Must not proper Allowances be made for the several Changes which have since happen'd in our Constitution, and the different Relations we now bear to foreign Nations! For without a Parity of Circumstances, Gentlemen cannot reasonably expect an Equality of Consequences.

Formerly Parliaments sat but ten, fifteen, or twenty Days, and dispatch'd all the Business they had before them in that Time; we now sit four or five Months, and find sufficient Employment; the Reason of this Difference is obvious; our Government has since gone through so many Changes, and the Riches and Commerce of this Nation have so much increased, that this House is now engaged in a much larger Circle of Business; and at the same Time hath asserted a Right to several Powers in the State, which, 'till within these 100 Years, the Crown has often contested: May not Gentlemen as well infer, because some Parliaments in former Times have sat but 20 Days, that we ought now to follow their Practice in this Particular, as to plead for a

B

shorter

shorter Duration of Parliaments, because there may be found Instances of annual Elections in remote Ages.

Would Gentlemen, who speak so favourably of ancient Times, have our Parliaments brought again to be entirely upon the same Foot they were formerly? Surely, no! As the Law now stands, the Crown cannot possibly prolong a Parliament beyond seven Years; and as the Affairs of the Publick are now disposed, it must necessarily meet every Year. Formerly the Crown could keep a Parliament in Being without any Limitation of Time for their Dissolution, and, as I have said before, did sometimes prevent them, tho' elected, from ever meeting; nay, at other Times, there has been for many Years together a total Intermission of Parliaments. I therefore really think, no one can make the least Comparison on this Head; at least, I suppose the worthy Gentlemen would not be willing to return to the Practice of preceding Times in these Particulars.

In short, I think the *Septennial Act* as well adapted to our present Constitution, as well calculated to answer the Purposes, and secure the Freedom of Parliaments, as any Regulation that can be made; and I do not know any one particular Instance in which our Liberty and Constitution have been more strengthen'd and improved since the Revolution, than by those Laws which have been made relative to the chusing, sitting, and Duration of Parliaments.

Before I leave this Subject, I must take this Opportunity to return my Thanks to the honourable Gentleman who called for the Reading of the *Septennial Act*, because the Preamble puts me in Mind of our being indebted to that Law for the Prevention of a second Rebellion: I am convinced it was to that seasonable Alteration we then ow'd the Preservation of our Tranquility, and perhaps every Thing that is dear to us; for the Minds of the People were at that Time so exasperated and inflam'd, the Spirit of *Jacobitism* was got to such a Height in the Nation, that had an Election come on, after the first Parliament of the late King ought to have expired by the *Triennial Act*, 'tis not hard to say what fatal Consequences might have ensu'd. But I neither mention this as thinking it entirely our present Situation, or to draw an Argument from thence in Support of what I am contending for: However, I must say, that the recollecting how much we owe to the *Septennial Act*, makes me the more unwilling to part with it. 'Tis like

like Friendship in private Life, where we have once establish'd a thorough good Opinion of a Man, and have received great Favours from him, it is with Difficulty, it is with great Concern we are prevail'd on to give Credit to any Thing that may tend to his Disadvantage.

Many Instances might be brought to shew the Inconveniencies that would attend the Success of the Bill now proposed to us; but as I have already taken up much more of your Time than I at first intended, I shall only mention one, which is, The great Hindrance it might be in the Dispatch of our foreign Negotiations. As we have been within Doors often told of Reports without Doors, I must take the Liberty to mention one which we have heard both within and without. Have we not often heard without Doors, have not we been told in a former Debate in this House, that several Letters have been sent to foreign Courts, in order to discourage them from treating with us at this critical Juncture, by assuring them, that the next ensuing Parliament will be of a Complexion very different from this? I cannot in the least suppose, that such Letters were either written or concerted by any one within these Walls; but I must presume the Authors are by this Time convinced of their Error, since I find so much Pains has lately been taken, and so much Rhetorick employ'd, both in weekly and other Papers, to persuade us of the Inconvenience of the *Septennial Act*, and the Necessity for repealing it; from whence I conclude, that those Gentlemen, who were the Authors of such Letters begin now to see that they will be disappointed in their Expectations; and in order to make amends for this Disappointment, they are for repealing the *Septennial Act*, that they may have a fresh Opportunity of taking another Trial four Years hence. But be this as it will, it is certain, that what I have just mention'd may be practis'd, and will always be an Inconvenience and a Hindrance in the carrying on of our foreign Affairs, towards the End of a *Septennial Parliament*: And shall we by a new Law give an Opportunity and a Temptation to the Enemies of the Government, to repeat those and such like Practices and Suggestions, to the great Prejudice of the Nation, at the End of every three Years?

Before I conclude, I cannot help observing, that during the seven Years I have sat in Parliament, I have heard many Questions introduced into this House, which have very much surpris'd me. Among others, I have

heard a Proposition made, which, as it appeared to me, would have made the Army useless upon any Emergency, when we might have had the greatest Occasion for their Service. I have heard another Question about making a perpetual Law to regulate an annual Constitution, which would, indeed, have had a quite different Effect from the former; for in Process of Time, this last Question, had it succeeded, might have made the Army our Sovereign, and King, Lords, and Commons, insignificant: And the Proposition now before us, would, in my Opinion, tend to weaken our greatest Security, I mean the Landed Interest of the Kingdom, by giving them frequent and unnecessary Temptations to extraordinary Expences, and might farther introduce new Calamities and Confusions into this Nation. What other Question can follow to keep Rank with those, I cannot divine; but the Spirit of Reformation seems to be now so very much the Fashion, I do not doubt but fertile Imaginations will always find, and will never be at a Loss for popular Topicks to introduce.

No State was ever so exactly fram'd in all its Parts, as not to make new Laws sometimes necessary to remedy the Evils which Time and Corruption may bring upon it; and for this Reason, every State is invested with a Power of altering or repealing old Laws, and substituting new in their Stead, where those existing are found to be deficient: In this I shall agree with the honourable Gentlemen; but give me Leave further to observe, that this Power may be made Use of to the Overthrow as well as the Support of the Constitution; and therefore, when we proceed to the Exercise of this Part of the Legislative Power, especially in Things which relate to the very Fundamentals of our Constitution, the worthy Gentlemen will, I hope, agree with me, that we ought to use it with the greatest Prudence and Caution.

At present, I think, our Constitution is so well regulated in all its Parts, the Scales are so justly poised, as not to want any new modelling, nor any additional Weight to be thrown into the other Scale: We must be all so sensible of the Happiness we enjoy under our Constitution, as now established, that our chief Concern and Study ought to be how to preserve it in the happy Situation it is now in; and if we can transmit it to our Posterity in the same Lustre and Perfection we now clearly perceive it to be in, our Successors will have no just Reason to accuse the present Generation of having made

an ill Use of that great Trust which is reposed in every Man who has a Voice in this Place. All Changes, tho' never so well intended, are hazardous; but as the Change now proposed appears to me, I think it would certainly have a quite different Effect from what these worthy Gentlemen expect, who are the Advocates for it: I am perswaded, that instead of amending or improving, it would weaken the Constitution; and therefore I think it a Duty I owe Country, to give my Dissent to it in this publick Manner.

Thomas

When Sir T——s had done speaking, Lord N——l rose up and spoke as in our last; and after him, the hon. J——n C——s, Esq; Member for *Egges* in Suffolk, in the following Words.

John Cornwallis
J——n C——s, Esq;

S I R,

I Have heard some Mention made without Doors, of the Proposition now under Consideration; but I never expected to have heard it mov'd in this House, especially at a Time when the Circumstances of *Europe* ought to prevent our attempting any Thing that may, in the least, tend towards weakening our Constitution, or unsettling His Majesty's Measures. As for my own Part, the Motion can no Way affect me: Let it be agreed to, or let it be rejected, as to my particular Circumstances, they will remain the same; but as we are not to regard our private or particular Interest, but that of the whole Community, in every Question that arises in this House; I therefore think I am obliged, not only to give my Vote against this Question, but to give my Reason, at least the principal Reason which induces me to be against it: and it is this, that, in my Opinion, the Motion seems calculated for no other End, but to continue that Ferment, and that Spirit of Division and Disaffection which has so artfully raised in the Nation upon a

* *The Excise Bill.*

the memorable Occasion,* and which has already almost subsided, and must entirely subside, as soon as the People shall have come to their right Senses, so as to be able to judge fully and impartially about that Affair: But this they could never come to do, if the present Motion should succeed; the Nation would be kept always in a Ferment, the Divisions about one Election would no sooner be over, than those about another would begin, and the Passions of the

the People would be every Year screw'd up by some new Art, in order to support, or render successful, the ambitious Views of some private Men ; this would of Course very much weaken his Majesty's Government, and diminish his Influence in all foreign Negotiations ; for which Reason I shall most heartily give my Vote against the Motion now made to us.

Col. B fade n.

S I R,

I Cannot give my Assent to the Question now in your Hand. The Repeal of the *Septennial Law* is a Motion I cannot in my Conscience agree to ; for tho' one of the Motives for enacting that Law does not at present exist in such an apparent Manner, as it did at the Time it was enacted, yet it cannot be said, that even that Motive has now entirely ceased ; I wish with all my Heart it could be justly said, that there is not now a *Jacobite*, or disaffected Person in the Nation ; but I am afraid no such Thing can be justly said for many Years to come, and therefore, even that Motive, which the hon. Gentlemen who have spoke on the other Side of the Question, have said to be the only Motive for enacting this Law, has not yet entirely ceased. But this was not the only Motive for enacting that Law ; if Gentlemen had given Attention to the Preamble of that Law, they would have found many other Reasons mention'd for enacting it, which are now as strong for continuing it as they were then for enacting it.

It has been said, that this Law has been attended with several Inconveniencies, which I cannot say I have ever sensible of ; and I think they have not yet been made sufficiently appear, by any of the Gentlemen who have spoke in this Debate ; but, granting that there were any such, is this a Time to repeal a Law which has been productive of so much Good, and which so much strengthens his Majesty's Government, only because it has been found to be attended with a few trifling Inconveniencies ? I cannot think that the Gentlemen who talk at this Rate, are so ignorant of human Affairs, they now pretend to be ; they must certainly know, that all human Institutions are attended with Inconveniencies, and all that the wisest of Men can do, is to choose those Regulations which are attended with the fewest and the least dangerous Inconveniencies, and which tend most to the Security and Happiness of their native Country.

ry: When Gentlemen consider in this Light the *Septennial Law* which now exists, and the *Triennial Law* which was for good Reasons repealed, they will, I believe, at all Times, but especially at the present, give the Preference to the former.

Let us but consider the present Situation of the Affairs of Europe; *Italy* swallow'd up by *France* and her Allies, numerous Armies on the *Rhine* threatening to penetrate into the very Bowels of the Empire; our old Allies the *Dutch*, reduced to the low Ebb of begging a Neutrality from *France*, reduced to the low Ebb of begging a Neutrality from *France*, for their Barrier in *Flanders*: In such a State of foreign Affairs, is it to be imagined, that *Great Britain* can remain quiet, or indulge herself in a State of Ease and Security! No surely, we must concert proper Measures to prevent the Balance of Power in Europe from being quite overturned: We must look in Time to the Preservation of that Balance which has already cost this Nation so much Blood and Treasure; and, at such a Conjuncture, ought we to repeal that Law which strengthens his Majesty's Hands, which gives steadiness to his Councils, and adds Weight to his Negotiations with foreign Powers? Or shall we substitute in its Place a Law, which would throw the Nation every two or three Years into such Distractions and Confusions as Elections are always attended with?

Would not this be giving the Enemies of his Majesty's Government at home, in Conjunction with his Enemies abroad, so many Opportunities of Distressing his Majesty's Government, of throwing all Things into Confusion, and perhaps of destroying that Establishment, and that Family to which we owe the Preservation of all that is dear to us? God forbid that this House should be so much wanting in that Duty they owe to his Majesty, in that Duty they owe to their Country, as to do any Thing that might tend to the distressing of his Government, or to the disturbing the Peace and Quiet of their Country. I hope the House will excuse me for taking up so much of their Time: I could say a great deal more against the Motion now before us, but the Subject has been so much exhausted, and every Argument in Favour of it so fully answer'd by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who spoke only in this Debate, that I think I need not now add any Thing farther, but shall most heartily give my Vote against it.

~~W. H. W. H.~~ *W. H. W. H.* Esq^s

S I R,

I AM surpris'd to hear it insinuated by the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, as if the Motion now before us, was made with a View to distress his Majesty's Government, or to disturb the Peace of the Nation. Such an Insinuation is really not treating the Gentlemen who spoke in Favour of this Motion, with that Candour which one Gentleman has Reason to expect from another in this House; nor indeed can I look upon it as any Compliment made to his Majesty or his Government. It is not to be doubted but that his Majesty, in all the Measures he pursues, looks a little farther than this House: It is not to be question'd but that his Majesty looks for the Approbation of the Generality of his People, as well as the Majority of his Parliament; and while his Measures are approved of by the Generality of his People, frequent Elections cannot surely bring any Distress upon his Government, but will greatly strengthen it, by shewing frequently to his Majesty, and to the whole World, the true Sense of the Generality of the People. As to the Peace of the Nation, we know by Experience, that it was as well preserved by *Triennial Parliaments*, as ever it was by *Septennial*; so that the agreeing to this Motion cannot disturb the Peace, but the rejecting it may very probably have such an Effect; for the Generality of the People so earnestly desire to have *Triennial Parliaments* restored to them, that the refusing to comply with their Desire, cannot but increase the Number of the Disaffected, which may at last throw all Things into Confusion, and may perhaps destroy the Establishment, to which we owe every Thing that is dear to us.

I shall readily grant, that ever since we have had *Septennial Parliaments*, our Elections have been generally attendend with Distractions and Confusions; but cannot allow that this would be the Case, if our Elections were *Annual*, or even *Triennial*: They would then be carry'd on with much less Heat and Animosity; for every Man knows that the Disturbances about Elections have been much greater since the *Septennial Bill* took Place, than ever they were before; and I would gladly ask Gentlemen, if before that Time it was ever known that Solicitations and Contentions about Elections began two Years before the chusing of a new Parliament, which

is known to be the Case at present over the whole Kingdom, and which always must necessarily be the Case, it being natural for Men to contend with more Vigour and with more Heat, for a Post either of Honour or Profit, that is to be enjoy'd for seven Years, than for one that is to be enjoy'd but for one, or for three.

Then, as to Bribery and Corruption at Elections, I am sure it has very much increased since the *Septennial Law* took Place. It is a natural Consequence of lengthening the Time of a Parliament's Continuance; a Consequence so natural, that I am surpris'd to find it so much mistaken as it seems to be, by some Gentlemen who have spoken upon the other Side of the Question. It is certain, that Bribery will never be made Use of at any Election, but by a Man who has not a sufficient natural Interest in the Place where he declares himself a Candidate; and by such we may expect it will always be made Use of, as far as it can be done with Safety, if the Candidate has but the least Hopes of succeeding by such dishonourable Means; where there happens a Competition, every Elector has a natural Byass to vote for one Man rather than another, and every Elector will vote according to his natural Byass, if he is not bought off: Whoever endeavours to buy him off, must certainly come up to his Price, and this Price will be higher or lower, according to the Elector's Honour and Circumstances, and the natural Byass he has for the other Candidate: A great many Men may be, perhaps, bought off with 100 or 1000 Guineas, who, if half that Sum were offer'd, would spurn it away with an honest Disdain. I hope there are a great many Electors in this Kingdom, whose Honour, upon such Occasions, is above the Power of any such corrupt Temptations, but that there are likewise a great many who may be bought, is a Fact which, I believe, no Gentleman in this House will dispute; and in this View let us examine the Difference between *Triennial* and *Septennial Parliaments*.

Give me Leave then to suppose two Gentlemen set up in Opposition to each other, for representing one of our little Boroughs in Parliament; one of them a Country Gentleman, of a great natural Interest in the Place, the other a Citizen of *London*, or a Place-Man, not near equal to him in Interest, but depending entirely upon the Money he is able to lay out: Suppose the Citizen, or Place-Man, comes to a Calculation, and finds that it will cost him at least 3000 *l.* to buy the Country Gentle-

man out of his Interest in that Borough ; if the Parliament were to continue but for three Years, he would, very probably, resolve not to be at such an Expence, and so would refrain from being guilty of the Crime of corrupting his Countrymen ; but when the Parliament is to continue for seven Years, he may as probably resolve to be at that Charge : Thus by Corruption he may get a Seat in this House ; and it is to be feared, that he who comes in here by Corruption, will not walk out with clean Hands.

Gentlemen are very much mistaken if they imagine, that the Price of an Elector depends upon the Duration of a Parliament, or that a Man who sells his Vote for 100 Guineas at an Election of a *Septennial Parliament*, would sell his Vote for the Half of that Sum, if the Parliament to be chosen were to continue only for three Years. No, there are very few of this Sort of Electors, who think of Futurity ; the present Offer is the Temptation, and the only Temptation which can be of any Weight with them : Besides, they cannot depend on having the like Offer made them at the next Election ; and 50 Guineas ready Money, with an uncertain Hope of having 50 more three Years hence, is not surely so great a Price as 100 Guineas ready down : The natural Interest of the Country Gentlemen, and the Honour of the Electors, are what the Dealers in Corruption have to contend with, and against these a small Price cannot be so prevalent as one a little higher ; some may, perhaps, be corrupted by a small Price, but certainly the higher it is, the greater will the Numbers be that are tempted to yield to it ; and as a Man may give a higher Price at the Election for a *Septennial Parliament*, than he can do at one for an *Annual* or *Triennial*, therefore, the greater the Numbers will be of those who yield to his Temptation, the more he may depend upon Corruption ; and the more it is to be depended on, the more general and the more frequent will it certainly be. From hence it appears evident, that the Increase of Bribery and Corruption is as natural a Consequence of *Septennial Parliaments*, as any one Thing can be conceived to be the Consequence of another.

There is no Way of effectually preventing Corruption, but by putting it out of the Power of any one to corrupt : There is no corrupting any Man but by coming up to his Price ; therefore, the only Way of putting it out of the Power of any Man to corrupt, is to put it out of
the

the Power of any Man to come up to the Price of any Number of Electors ; and this can only be done by making our Elections frequent : The more frequent, the better. It is certain, a Gentleman who enjoys a good Pension for seven Years, is more able to give a high Price, than if he enjoy'd that Pension but for one Year, or even for three ; and he will more willingly give a high Price, when he is thereby to purchase the Continuance of that Pension for seven Years, than when he is to purchase it only for one or three Years. This is so evident, that I am astonished to hear it controverted within these Walls.

If our Parliaments were *Annual*, it would be impossible for Place-Men or Pensioners to save as much yearly as would be sufficient to bribe Country Gentlemen out of their Interest, and the Electors out of their Honesty ; which I am afraid is a Practice now too frequent in many Parts of this Kingdom : How can it otherwise be imagin'd that the People would chuse Persons they never saw, Persons they perhaps never heard of, in Opposition to Gentlemen who live in the Neighbourhood, Gentlemen who give them daily Employment, by buying in their Shops and Markets all the Manufactures and Provisions they have Use for in their Families ; and Gentlemen whose Ancestors have, perhaps, often represented that very Place in Parliament with great Honour, and universal Approbation ? I remember I was told by a Gentleman who is now dead, and therefore I may name him, I mean Mr. *Spencer Cooper*, afterwards one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, he told me himself, that he had never been in the Borough he represented in Parliament, nor had ever seen or spoke with any of his Electors ; and I believe I could, without much Difficulty, name some who are now in the same Situation. Can such be called the Representatives of the People, or can it be supposed that they are chosen by Means of that natural Interest by which every Man ought to hold his Seat in this House ?

The Parliament is the great Council of the Nation, and the Business of this House in particular is to represent to his Majesty the Grievances of the People, to inform his Majesty if any of his Ministers or Officers make an ill Use of the Power he delegates to them, and to impeach and prosecute such Evil Ministers. Now I would be glad to know who are the most proper Representatives for these Purposes, Gentlemen who have large Properties

ties in the Country, who are independent of the Ministers and Officers of the Crown, and who by living in the Country, are perfectly acquainted with the Circumstances of the People; or Gentlemen who, for their chief Support, depend upon the Ministers and Officers of the Crown, who know nothing of those they represent, and are not only ignorant of their true Interests, but are really indifferent about their Welfare. I hope it will not be controverted, but that the first Sort of Gentlemen are the most proper Representatives of the People; and if so, *Annual* or *Triennial Parliaments* are better than *Septennial*, because there is a greater Probability of their being chiefly composed of such Gentlemen.

As Bribery and Corruption, therefore, is a natural Consequence of long Parliaments, as it must always increase in Proportion as the Term for the Parliament's Continuance is prolonged, I am persuaded that all those who are against Bribery and Corruption will join with me in voting for the Restitution of *Triennial Parliaments*. It is not the Expence of an Election that Country Gentlemen are to be afraid of; the most extravagant Entertainments that a Stranger in the Country could give, would have but little Weight, if to these he did not add downright Bribery; and even those Bribes must be so high as to over-balance the natural Interest of the Country Gentleman, as well as the Honesty of the greatest Part of the Electors: As these Bribes cannot be made so high for a *Triennial Parliament*, as they may be for a *Septennial*, they cannot be so prevalent among the Electors; and therefore a Gentleman who depends on nothing but his natural Interest, will always have a better Lay for representing his Country in a *Triennial Parliament*, than he can have for representing it in one which is to continue for seven Years; for which Reason I cannot but think that every Gentleman who has a Mind that his Posterity shall depend, for their Seats in Parliament, on the natural Interest they may have in their respective Countries, and not upon the Frowns or the Favours of the Minister for the Time being, must necessarily be for our returning to our former Constitution in this Respect. This is, in my Opinion, absolutely necessary, and it must be soon done, otherwise Country Gentlemen, tired out with contending against those who purchase their Elections, perhaps with the very Money which the Country Gentlemen are obliged to pay out of their Estates in publick Duties at Taxes, will at last have nothing

thing to do but to sit down and bemoan the Fate of their Country; but their Complaints will then be to very little Purpose, for the Doors of that Place, where the Groans of the People ought to be heard, will then be shut against them; we may depend on it, that those who obtain their Seats in this House by Ministerial Influence, will, while here, be directed in all their Proceedings by the same Sort of Influence, and by none other.

To conclude; I am very certain that there is nothing would be more agreeable to the People in general, than the Repeal of the *Septennial Law*; and therefore I, as one of the Representatives of the People, chosen without Bribery or Corruption, and as one who has nothing to consider but the Interest of those I represent, shall most readily give my Vote in Favour of the Motion.

Mr. A^{ttorn}~~ey~~^{ey} G^{enera}~~l~~^l.

S I R,

I Have given all possible Attention to what has been said by Gentlemen on both Sides of this Question: and I must confess, I cannot yet see any Manner of Reason for agreeing to the Motion. Gentlemen have been pleased to put us in Mind of our ancient Constitution; but it has been so often vary'd and alter'd, that it will be found very difficult to fix upon a Time when it was such as we ought or would desire to return to: And if any Time is to be fixed on, we are not surely to take the Time when our Constitution was weak and in its Infancy; we are certainly to chuse that Time when it was come to its full Strength and Vigour, which, in my Opinion, is the present: But as Gentlemen have mention'd the Claim of Rights, let us examine how it stood at that Time, for I am perswaded it will be agreed to by every Gentleman in this House, that after that Claim was settled and confirmed, our Constitution was more vigorous than it ever was before that Time; and yet even in our Claim of Rights, there is no Mention made of frequent new Parliaments: It is, indeed, said, that for Redress of Grievances, and for amending, strengthening, and preserving the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently; but it is not so much as insinuated that every one of these Parliaments ought to be a new Parliament; and as to the Frequency of Parliaments, I am sure there never was less Reason for Complaint than since the *Septennial Bill* passed; for ever since that Time, the Sessions have been regularly held, and all of them have

have been allow'd to sit as long as it was necessary or proper they should.

But even by the Claim of Rights our Constitution was not so well regulated or establish'd as it is at present : It was still left in the Power of the King to continue a Parliament as long as he pleased, and this certainly might have become a Grievance upon the People. This Oversight the whole Nation were sensible of, and thin they were willing to obviate ; but in all such Cases, People generally run from one Extreme to another ; the Passions of Men are something like a Pendulum ; if they are raised too high on one Side, they always rise too high on the other ; it requires Time before they come to settle in the Equilibrium of Reason. This was the very Case with Respect to the *Triennial Bill*, which was passed in the Reign of King *William* : The Passions of the People were raised high against the unlimited Prerogative of the Crown, in continuing a Parliament as long as the King had a Mind ; this the Enemies of the Government took hold of, in order to introduce a Law by which the Prerogative was in this Respect limited too much ; for it is well known, that the *Triennial Act* was neither introduced nor promoted by the Patrons of Liberty, or the real Friends to that King's Government ; it was by those who meant to distress the Measures of that good Prince, to whom their native Country, nay even they themselves, stood so much indebted : They at last prevailed, they got that Law passed, which, after a long Experience, was found to be of dangerous Consequence to the Peace of the Nation, and to the Quiet of the Subject ; and therefore the *Septennial Bill* was agreed to, which is a most reasonable Mean between the one Extreme of leaving the Prerogative of the Crown in this Respect unlimited, and the other Extreme of limiting this Prerogative too much, by laying the Crown under a Necessity of calling a new Parliament once in three Years, whether it be consistent with the Peace and Security of the Nation or not : From whence I think I have Reason to be of Opinion, that our Constitution is now in its utmost Perfection. I was, indeed, glad to hear Encomiums bestow'd by an honourable Gentleman on the late King *William*, because such seldom come from the Corner of the House where he sits ; but if that glorious King had been limited to *Septennial Parliaments* only, and not to *Triennial*, the future Happiness of this Nation would have been better secured, and more firmly Estab-

lished

blished by him ; he would not have been obliged to have put an End to the War so soon as he did, or to have agreed to those Treaties which were afterwards so loudly complained of ; the Continuance of the War but for a very few Years, might have reduced the Power of *France* so low as to have render'd them utterly unable to have made a Conquest of *Spain*, and thereby the heavy War which ensu'd, and which cost this Nation so much Blood and Treasure, would have been effectually prevented.

Gentlemen have been pleased to mention frequently to us the Prerogative of the Crown, and to talk of its being grown up to a great Height ; but can any Gentleman say, that his present Majesty, or the late King his Father, ever made the least Attempt to the Prejudice of the People's Rights, or ever endeavour'd to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond those Bounds which are prescribed to it by Law ; and I hope no Gentleman will say, that the Prerogative, as now limited and establish'd, can be dangerous ; for while our happy Constitution is preserved, it is certain the Monarchical Part of it must be endow'd with some Powers and Prerogatives ; it must have at least those which are necessary to support itself against Faction, and to preserve that Influence which it ought by Law to have in the Government of this Kingdom. And as for the Influence which, as has been supposed, the Crown may acquire over long Parliaments, it has already had a very proper Answer from both the Gentlemen who spoke first against this Motion ; for it is very certain, that the Long Parliament in King *Charles II's* Reign, which has been called the *Pensionary Parliament*, became towards the End so very little subject to the Influence of the Crown, that they did all they could to secure the Liberties of the People against the Schemes which were then forming by the Court, and became so strenuous in their Endeavours this Way, that the King was at last obliged to dissolve them : This shews, that the Length of a Parliament rather diminishes than increases the Influence of the Crown ; and the History of every Parliament since that Time confirms this Observation.

We have been told, that we always ought to have a Dependence on those we represent, and that in long Parliaments this Dependence may probably be thrown off ; which could never be the Case if Parliaments were *Annual*. That we have all a Dependence upon the People for our Election, is what I shall readily grant ; but after
we

we are chosen, and have taken our Seats in this House, we have no longer any Dependence upon our Electors, at least in so far as regards our Behaviour here: Their whole Power is then devolved upon us, and we are in every Question that comes before this House, to regard only the Publick Good in General, and to determine according to our own Judgments: If we do not, if we are to depend on our Representatives, and to follow blindly the Instructions they send us, we cannot be said to act freely, nor can such Parliaments be called free Parliaments: Such a Dependence would be a most dangerous Dependence: It would, in my Opinion, be more dangerous, and of worse Consequence than a Dependence on the Crown; for in a Dependence on the Crown, I can see no Danger, as long as the Interest of the Crown is made the same with that of the People, which every Man must allow to be the Case at present; whereas the People of any County, City, or Borough are very liable to be misled, and may often be induced to give Instructions directly contrary to the Interest of their Country.

Bribery and Corruption are two hideous Words, and are often set in the most terrible Light. I have, 'tis true, as terrible an Idea of such Practices as any Gentleman in this House; but I cannot think we are in any present Danger from such: Our Constitution is so happily formed, that it is almost impossible to overthrow it by such Practices; for before such a Thing can be done, the Generality of the People must be corrupted; nay, they must be so far corrupted as to be ready to sell themselves for a small Price; for if they insist upon a high one, there cannot be a Purchaser. This is a Case which I hope never will happen, but if ever it should, I cannot see how our Constitution could be more safe with a *Triennial* than with a *Septennial* Parliament; for I am persuaded that if a Man will sell his Vote either in Parliament, or at Elections, for 1000 or 100 Guineas, he will sell it for half that Sum, when he finds he can get no more: Whatever is once brought to Market, is generally sold for the Market Price; and we find that the more frequently a Thing is sold, the lower it falls in its Price, the more contemptible it becomes. People usually suppose that Corruption is only of one Sort; but this is a Mistake, it appears in many Shapes; a Man may be bribed without giving him Money; and even Members of this House may be bribed without getting any Place or Preferment from the Government: If any

Gentleman

Gentleman, to please his Borough, and secure his next Election, should act contrary to his own Judgment, it is as downright Bribery as if he had got a Pension, a Place, or Preferment from the Court; and I look upon this as one of the very worst Sorts of Corruption.

Gentlemen have told us, that *Septennial Parliaments* are attended with many Inconveniencies, but they have not been so good as to shew us any of them, at least in so far as I have yet heard; we have had the Experience of such Parliaments for above these eighteen Years, and yet I do not find that they have pretended to shew any one Inconvenience which has arisen from them in all that Time; from whence I must presume, that it is not in their Power; and I believe it cannot be shewn that so many good Laws have passed in any such Number of Years, as have been passed since *Septennial Parliaments* took Place: I am sure it cannot be shewn, that any one Law has been passed by any of our *Septennial Parliaments*, that incroached upon the Rights of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was look'd on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance. If ever there were any such, I must desire that the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question would point them out to us.

But I could shew many Inconveniencies that would certainly ensue from *Triennial* or *Annual Parliaments*; The whole Nation would be kept in a continual Ferment: The Feuds and Divisions which by every Election are raised among Neighbours in the Country, would be continually kept up: The Country Gentlemen would be entirely ruin'd by the Expence of frequent Elections, and an annual Attendance upon this House with Multitudes of Witnesses, about those that might be contested; and a vast Encouragement would be given to drunkenness and Idleness among all Ranks of Men: We know, when working People have been habituated but for a few Days to Drunkenness and Idleness, how hard it is to bring them back to their Labour and Industry; from whence we must conclude, that such frequent Elections would be a great Prejudice to our Husbandry, to our Manufactures, and to all Sorts of Improvements; for the Drinking and Feasting about an Election would hardly be over when that for the next would begin: All these and many worse would be the certain Consequences of *Triennial* or *Annual Elections*; whereas, when Elections return but once in seven Years, the Feuds and Divisions

D

among

among Neighbours, and the Ferment the Nation is put into, have Time to subside ; the labouring People have Time to cool, and return to their Labour ; and the Country Gentlemen may easily bear the Expence of Elections, because they have six Years to recruit, and to lay in a Stock for that Purpose.

An honourable Gentleman spoke of *Septennial Parliaments* as necessary to support falling Ministers : How a *Septennial* can be more proper for this Purpose than a *Triennial*, I cannot really comprehend ; but whatever may be in this, I am sure it is not the Case at present ; for I have been of late in as many Counties and Corporations as any Gentleman, I believe, in this House ; and notwithstanding all the Arts that have been practis'd, and all the Industry that has been used to give the People a bad Impression of the present Administration, I found the People in every Place I passed through, generally well inclined towards it ; and the present Parliament, though a *Septennial* one, stands so firmly in the Esteem and Affections of the People, that I dare say we shall see the greatest Part of the Gentlemen now in this House re-chosen.

Upon the Whole, as no Gentleman can, I think, shew me any Inconvenience attending *Septennial Parliaments* but what is imaginary, as a great many dangerous Inconveniencies always have attended, and always must attend *Triennial Parliaments* ; and as I am convinced that the Nation in general is very far from desiring a Repeal of the *Septennial Law*, I am entirely against the Question.

Waller Paine, Esq;

S I R,

I Own, I am not a little astonish'd at the Doctrine laid down by the honourable and learned Gentleman who spoke last : That after we are chosen, we are to give no Attention to our Constituents, that we are then to throw aside all Dependence upon them, is a Doctrine I never before heard in this House ; and I am the more surprized to hear it come from that learned Gentleman, because some of our principal Law Books tell us, that in ancient Times this House has often refused to agree to Propositions made by the Court, for this Reason only, that they could not agree to any such new Proposition, 'till they went home and consulted with their Constituents. For my own Part, I shall always give the greatest At-

tention

tention to the Sentiments of those I represent ; I shall always have a great Regard for their Interests, and shall never think there is any Danger in having a Dependence upon them.

The learned Gentleman asked us, if the Prerogative of the Crown had been extended beyond its due Bounds by his late or his present Majesty ? I do not say it has : It is a Question cannot properly be answer'd, nor have I heard any such Thing so much as insinuated in this Debate : But I wish we would take an Example from the Crown in one Thing : We may observe that the Crown never gives a Place or Employment for Life, or for a long Term of Years, except such as cannot be otherwise disposed of ; and the Reason is plain : Were these Places given for Life, the Grantee would then be out of the Power of the Crown, and consequently would not have such a Dependence on the Crown, as those Persons must have who enjoy their Places during Pleasure only. In this the Crown acts wisely ; and I wish we would follow the Example : When I say We, I speak of the Gentlemen present, not as Members of this House, but as a Part of the People of *Great Britain*. It would certainly be the Height of Wisdom in the People, to keep those they trust and employ in their Service as much in their Power as possible : If those the People chose to represent them in this House, were to continue in that Station only during the Pleasure of the People, the Representatives would, I believe, have a proper Regard for the Interests of the People, and would never think of throwing off all Dependence upon them. As this would, in my Opinion, be a wise Step in the People, therefore I must be for agreeing to every Thing that may tend this Way ; for this Reason I cannot but be for the present Motion ; nay, if *Annual Parliaments* had been moved for, I should have been for the Question.

Another Gentleman over the Way mention'd to us the present Situation of *Europe*, and asked us, if we were to sit still, and take no Part ? This is a Question that might be answer'd, if they would let us into the Secret, so far as to know what is the present Situation of *Europe* with Respect to ourselves ; but this they do not seem inclined to do : However, without such an Insight, I think I may say, that we ought to mind our own Business, and take proper Care of the Interests of *Great Britain* ; but that we are not to enter Headlong into every *German Quarrel* that happens beyond Seas. This may be a very

proper Question, and probably will come to be a Question in the first Session of the next Parliament : In which Case, I hope those who have it in their Power, will lay every Thing before this House, that may be necessary for giving a proper Answer to such an important Question : But how the Members of next Parliament, by being chosen for seven Years, should have, in the very first Session, more Knowledge, more Wisdom, or more Integrity, in the determining of this Question, than if they had been chosen for three, is what, I must confess, I cannot comprehend.

The learned Gentleman was so good as to tell us, that we had all, or most of us, by our Behaviour in this Parliament, established our Characters so firmly among the People, that most of us will be chosen again ; if so, it is to be hoped we will behave as well in the next, and then, as many of us as are alive, may expect to be chosen a third Time ; and if we behave ill, I hope no Gentleman will say we ought to continue even for one Year, much less for seven, in the Station we are in, whether our Representatives will or no. This is as proper an Answer as can be made to the principal Argument urged against frequent Elections ; which was, that they would distress his Majesty's Government, and render the Measures of his Administration unsteady ; for if the same Members be upon a new Election generally return'd as long as they behave well, surely even an *Annual Election* could never distress his Majesty's Government, nor render his Ministers unsteady in the Measures they pursue, at least as long as the Members behave well in Parliament ; and I hope no King will, (I am sure his Majesty never will) and I hope no Minister ever can depend upon the ill Behaviour of the Members of Parliament for the Support of his Government, or for the Support of the Measures he pursues : I say, I hope this Case never will happen ; but lest it should, the best Way to guard against it is to have frequent Elections ; and therefore I am for the Question.

Sir *William* *m* *L* *aw* *tic* *r*.

S I R,
THERE is one Reason, which chiefly prevails with me to be against the Question : It has been said, that the principal Motive for introducing *Septennial Parliaments* now no longer exists ; but this I can by no Means agree with, because I am sure the Number of

of *Papists* has greatly increased even since the *Septennial Law* took Place: And as a true Regard for our own Religion has in the same Time very much decreased, I am afraid the *Popish* Interest will daily gain more and more upon us; and the Transition from *Popery* to *Jacobitism* we know to be short and certain.

Besides, there has been lately publish'd in our Weekly Papers an Essay upon Parties; who is the Author of it I do not know, but I have read it, and I think it the most Jesuitical Performance I ever saw: It could, in my Opinion, be wrote with no other View but to raise Discontents and Jealousies, and to increase the Disaffection to his Majesty's Government; and therefore I cannot be for repealing a Law which greatly strengthens that Government against all such Attempts.

Charles Coteswoldes, Esq;

S I R,

I DO not stand up to enter into your Debate, but only to take Notice of what was said by the Gentleman who spoke last. I do not know whether the Number of *Papists* be increased since the Time he mentions or not; but I would gladly know from him, which Side in the Elections the *Papists* favour most in that Part of the Country where he lives? For I can affirm, that in all the Parts of *England* which I know, they generally make Use of all their Interest in Favour of those Candidates who are recommended by the Ministers: What may be their Reason for such an odd Sort of Conduct I cannot pretend to determine; for surely they do not imagine that the only Game they have to play against his Majesty's Government is to support his Ministers.

George Hentz, Esq;

S I R,

I Was very much inclined to give my Vote for the Question when it was first moved; but I am now more firmly of that Opinion, after what I have heard from the two hon. Gentlemen who spoke last; for if *Popery* has gain'd so great Ground in this Nation, since the Passing of the *Septennial Law*; and if the *Papists* be such Friends to our Ministers, I do not know but that in next Parliament many *Papists* may have Seats in this House; and as some of our Ministers have been of late very changeable in their Politicks, I do not know but they may take it in their Heads to change their Religion too;

too ; therefore, for fear of our having a *Popish* Parliament, and some *Popish* Ministers, I am for repealing the *Septennial Law*, in order to prevent their having Time to do a great deal of Mischief.

Sir *Jⁿ H^{is} de C^{ott}n.*

S I R,

AS to all the Parts of *England* I know, I can affirm the Truth of what my worthy Friend by me has said. The *Papists* are in general making Use of all their Interest in Favour of those Candidates who are recommended by the Ministers ; and an hon. Gentleman on the Floor, who, I believe, has no small Share in the present Administration, knows, that one of that Religion, who is a Gentleman of one of the best Families in the County of *Norfolk*, and a Gentleman of one of the best Estates in it, is now riding about the Country, soliciting Votes for his Friends who are Candidates for the County, or for any City or Borough within the County ; so that if there has been of late an Increase of *Popery*, it cannot be said that the Interest of the Ministers is thereby weaken'd ; but as to his Majesty's Government, I dare say it cannot be much strengthen'd by the Addition of such Friends.

An hon. and learned Gentleman over the Way was please to ask us, If his late or present Majesty had ever made any Attempt to the Prejudice of the Rights of the People, or had endeavoured to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond its legal Bounds ? To this Question I shall not answer one Word, because I know the Gentleman's Office ; but I shall answer another Question asked by the same Gentleman : He ask'd us, if I remember right, Whether any Law was ever passed by a *Septennial Parliament*, that incroached on the Liberties of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was look'd on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance ? As to the first Part of this Question, I must really look upon the *Septennial Law* itself as some Sort of Incroachment on the Rights of the People ; and that Law, I think, was passed by a Parliament which made itself *Septennial* : But farther, were not the Laws of Treason, as to Trials, alter'd by a *Septennial Parliament*, or at least one which made itself so ? That Law which had remained unalter'd in all the Contests, and the long Wars that happen'd between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, was alter'd upon a trifling Insurrection in some of the

the Northern Parts of this Kingdom: Formerly every Man was to be try'd by a Jury of his honest Neighbours, within the County where the Crimes alledged against him were said to have been committed; but a *Septennial Parliament* order'd him to be carry'd away and try'd in any County, where the Crown, or rather the Minister, could find a Jury proper for their Purpose; and where the Prisoner might not, perhaps, be able to bring any Witnesses in his own Justification, it might at least have been impossible for him to bring any without a great Expence. And yet farther, was not the *Riot Act* passed by a *Septennial Parliament*; and is not this an Encroachment upon the Rights of the People? Is it no Grievance that a little dirty Justice of the Peace, the meanest and vilest Tool a Minister can make Use of, a Tool who, perhaps, subsists by his being in the Commission, and who may be turned out of that Subsistence whenever the Minister pleases? Is this, I say, no Grievance, that such a Tool shou'd have it in his Power, by reading a Proclamation, to put, perhaps, twenty or thirty of the best Subjects in *England* to immediate Death, without any Trial or Form of Law? This Law, and several others I could name. have been passed by *Septennial Parliaments*; to which, because they stand yet unrepealed, I shall not give the Names I think they deserve.

But to ask whether any Laws have been passed by *Septennial Parliaments*, which have been attended with Inconveniencies, or have been complained of as a Grievance, is a Question I am surprized to hear come from a Gentleman learned in the Laws. Was not the fatal *South Sea Scheme*, in the Year 1720, establish'd by an Act of a *Septennial Parliament*, and can any Man ask, whether that Law was attended with any Inconvenience? It was the most scandalous Act that ever was passed by any Parliament; if *Triennial Parliaments* had then been in Being, I am perswaded it would never have passed, or if it had, I am very sure the chief Promoters of it would have suffer'd a very different Fate from what they did; and did not the same Parliament pass some Clauses in an Act for hindering the spreading of the Plague, that were look'd upon by the Generality of the People as so great a Grievance, and were so loudly complain'd of by all Ranks of People in the Nation, that it was thought proper to repeal them in the very next Session of Parliament?

To

To the glorious Catalogue I have mention'd of Laws pass'd by *Septennial Parliaments*, we might have added the late *Excise-Bill*, if it had pass'd into a Law; but thank God, the *Septennial Parliament* was near expiring before that famous Bill was introduced. To this glorious Catalogue I could add not a few others, but I will stop here, 'till I have heard the Laws I have mention'd justify'd by those who seem to be so much in Love with *Septennial Parliaments*; and if they can justify all that has been done by such Parliaments, I now promise most solemnly to be of their Opinion; but 'till then I hope they will excuse me in being for the Repeal of a Law, which, in my Opinion, has never done any Good, which has produced a great deal of Mischief, and which, I am much afraid, will quite overturn our Constitution, if it continues for any Time unrepealed.

Sir *John Bernard*.

S I R,

I AM a good deal surprized to find, that none of those Gentlemen who usually have a great Share in our Debates, seem inclined to take any Share in this: I hope they will allow it to be a Question of some Consequence to their Country; and if it should be carry'd in the Affirmative, some of them may, perhaps, find it a Question of some Consequence to themselves. I will venture to say, that I have not heard a Question better supported on one Side, and less said against it on the other, by the Gentlemen who have already spoken, since I sat in Parliament; and I now stand up, not that I think any Thing needful to be added to what has been said in Support of it, but that I cannot think of letting a Question go, in the Success of which, I think, the Happiness of my Country so deeply concern'd, without my joining with other Gentlemen, in shewing all the Regard for it that lies in my Power.

An hon. and learned Gentleman has, indeed, advanced a Doctrine which I think altogether new, That we are to have no further Dependence on our Electors, after we have taken our Seats in this House; nay, that a Dependence on them would be more dangerous than a Dependence on the Crown. This is really, in my Opinion, something very new: Tho' that Gentleman may, perhaps, like the one better than the other; yet I shall always look upon a Dependence on the People of *England*, or even upon those I represent, to be less dangerous

dangerous and more honourable, than a Dependence on the Crown; and I value myself more on the Honour I have had of sitting here for two Parliaments, as one of the Representatives of the People of *England*, and by the free and uncorrupted Choice of those I represent, than I should do on the greatest Honours the Crown can bestow. Indeed, if I had obtained my Seat here by Bribery, or by the illegal and corrupt Influence of any great Minister, I should look on it in a very different Light; I should look on it as one of the most disgraceful Stations I could be in.

It has been affirmed by several Gentlemen, who have spoken on the other Side of the Question, that the longer Parliaments continued, the less Influence the Crown had upon them; and for a Proof of this, they have instanced the Long Parliament in King *Charles II's* Reign. The same Gentlemen have likewise asserted, that *Triennial Parliaments* would distress his Majesty's Government: How these two Assertions are compatible, I leave to the Gentlemen themselves to explain; for to me it appears impossible that both can be true; because if the Crown has always the less Influence in a Parliament the longer it continues, surely the shortning the Time of its Duration cannot distress any King's Government. But as to the Long Parliament in King *Charles's* Time, though they did not towards the End shew the same servile Compliance that they had done for many Years before; yet it is plain, that the Crown thought that Parliament fitter for the Purposes of the Court at that Time, than they could expect any new Parliament chosen by the People to be; otherwise, as the King had it in his Power, he would certainly have dissolved them much sooner: And if that long Parliament really deserved the Name usually given to it, we must conclude, that their Non-compliance at last was not owing to their Virtue, or a Want of Inclination to receive, but to a Want of Power in the Crown to give. The People were not then accustomed to bear such heavy Burdens as they do at present; the Revenues of the Crown were not so large, nor the Posts and Places at the Disposal of the Crown so numerous; there was not such a numerous Standing Army to support the Parliament, in Case they had gone on in the same servile Method: And as the Complaints of the People grew loud and clamorous; as there was little to be got, and a great deal to be apprehended, by the Continuance of a servile Compliance, it is very probable

bable that these were the true Reasons of that Parliament's becoming so restless: And if the Nation was now in the same State it was at that Time, I should not be half so much afraid of *Septennial Parliaments* as I think I have now good Reason to be.

The Animosities, Disputes, and Divisions about Elections, have been set in the most dreadful Light, and have been represented as so great an Inconvenience, that we ought to run the Risque of having our Constitution overturned, rather than submit to it. But can it be imagined that there would be the same Contention for a Seat in Parliament which was to continue but for one Year, or even for three, that there is for one which is to continue for seven: The Example of the City of London plainly shews us the contrary: As the Common-Council Men, and a great many other Officers of the City are chosen annually, I have had Occasion to be often present at these *Annual Elections*, and never could find that they were attended with any great Heats and Animosities, or with any Inconvenience; for after the Election is over, the contending Parties go home, and live in the same Friendship they did before; and I am convinced the Case would be the same if *Annual Elections* for Members of this House were restored: The same Man might, perhaps, be continu'd and re-chosen every Year for many Years together, probably without any Dispute or Opposition; but his being liable every Year to be turned out, would be a continual Check upon his Behaviour, and would make him study the Interests of the People, instead of pursuing only some private and selfish Views of his own.

Even as Elections stand at present, there would be no such Contentions, nor any such Heats and Animosities as we hear of, if they were entirely left to Gentlemen who have a natural Interest in the Place: In such Case, if a Candidate found himself defeated by fair Means only, and merely by the superior Interest of his Antagonist, it would not raise his Indignation, it would occasion no Heats or Animosities, he would wait with Patience for a new Opportunity, and in the mean Time would endeavour to recommend himself to his Country by Acts of Hospitality and Benevolence. It is Ministers of State intermeddling in Elections, it is Election Brokers, and such Dealers in Corruption, that occasion all the Heats and Animosities we have; for when a Gentleman of a great natural Interest sees his Electors obliged

by Power, or bribed by Money, to vote against him, perhaps, in Favour of an utter Stranger, it cannot but raise his Indignation; it may, indeed, justly raise his utmost Fury and Revenge.

It is certain, that if the People were entirely left to themselves, they would, without much Contention, always chuse those Gentlemen who, by having large Properties of their own, might be reasonably supposed to be such as would take the best Care of the Properties of their Fellow Subjects: But if the People should ever begin to see their Representatives making their Seats in Parliament Places of Profit, and bartering their Votes and their Behaviour in Parliament for Votes, Places, and Pensions, the People will soon follow the Example of their Representatives, and will insist upon sharing with them in the Profits. Thus, by Degrees, the Minds of the People will be debauched, they will be brought to think, that the selling their Votes at Elections is no Crime, the Representatives who buy their Seats must sell their Votes, and at last all Regard for the publick Good will be generally laid aside by all Sorts of Men. The only effectual Method of preventing this fatal Effect, is to restore *Annual Elections*; for then it would be impossible, even for the Treasury itself (if ever the publick Money should come to be so misapply'd) to issue yearly, Sums of Money sufficient to get the Better of the natural Interest, which Country Gentlemen always have in the Places where they and their Families have, perhaps, for many Generations resided; the Consequence of which will be, that none but Country Gentlemen, and those who have a natural Interest in the Place, will ever appear as Candidates; and thus, neither the Morals of the People will be debauched, nor their Properties plunder'd, nor their Liberties destroy'd by those Election Brokers, and Ministerial Agents, or their Candidates; who never can be employ'd or set up but for such base purposes.

As for our Credit abroad, which, it is pretended, *Septennial Parliaments* very much contribute to, I think it is evident that it has been sinking ever since the *Septennial Law* took Place; which confirms what was justly observed by an honourable Gentleman, that the Credit of the Nation among Foreigners does not depend upon the length or Shortness of our Parliaments, but upon that Correspondence and Confidence which ought always to be kept up between the King and his People. I will

not say that this Decay of our Credit abroad has been altogether owing to the *Septennial Law*; but I dare say, if our Parliaments had not been *Septennial*, they would probably before now have enquir'd into the Conduct of those who have been the Causes of this Decay; and whatever Reasons the Decay of our Credit among Foreigners may have been owing to, it is now come to follow an Ebb, that we really seem to have almost none to lose. This, I am sorry to say it, seems to be our Case at present; and as I think nothing can so effectually restore our Credit abroad, as the restoring our Constitution at home, I shall therefore give my Vote for the Question.

Sir *William* *Yemge*.

S I R,

I CAN assure you, I did not sit still because I thought much had been said in this Debate upon one Side of the Question, and nothing upon the other; but because, after what had been offer'd by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who spoke early in the Debate, and the honourable and learned Gentleman who spoke some Time ago against the Question, I thought I might be look'd on as a Vanity in me to pretend to add any Thing to what had been said: Indeed I am still of the same Opinion, and should have continu'd in my Resolution of not giving you any Trouble this Day, had not the honourable Gentleman over the Way throw'd out what I take to be a very uncandid Reflection upon my honourable and learned Friend.

My learned Friend happen'd to make an Observation which I still think a very just one; he said, that after we are return'd, and have taken our Seat in this House, we ought not any longer to have a Dependence upon those we represent. This the honourable Gentleman laid hold of; he not only call'd it a new and a very extraordinary Doctrine; but he dropp'd an Expression such as I think ought not to be made Use of in this House. As to the Observation made by my learned Friend, he certainly meant, and I believe almost every Gentleman understood him, that after we have taken our Seats in this House, we ought, every one of us, to look upon ourselves as one of the Representatives of the whole Body of the Commons of *England*, and ought not to have any particular Byass for the County, City, or Borough we represent. This is so far from being a Doctrine

Doctrine very extraordinary, or altogether new, that I wish every Gentleman in this House would make it a standing Rule for his Conduct; for I cannot help observing, that there are some Gentlemen in the House, who on many Occasions confine their Thoughts too much to the particular County, City, or Borough they represent; but surely they must be sensible, that many Things may happen in Parliament, which may be for the Interest of the Nation in general, though they may not, perhaps, quadrate so exactly with the particular Interests of *London, Bristol, Liverpool*, or other like City; and in such a Case the Gentlemen must surely grant, that as Members of this House, they ought to drop, not only their Dependence upon, but even their Concern for the particular City they represent, in order to concur with the rest of the Members of this House, in what they judge to be for the general Interest of the Nation.

This I thought myself obliged to say in Vindication of my learned Friend; but as to the Question itself, I shall give you but very little Trouble; for tho' I must do the Gentlemen who introduced this Motion the Justice to own, that they did it with as much Candour, and in as pretty a Manner as I ever heard any Question introduced in this House, yet all the Arguments they made Use of were so fully answer'd, and the Objections against their Motion stated in so clear a Light, by the two worthy Gentlemen who spoke first against their Motion, that I cannot agree to it; and indeed, as I believe, we owe the Happiness of having the present Royal Family upon the Throne, and the Liberty of debating any Question in this House, chiefly to the *Septennial Law*, I shall never agree to the Repeal of that Law, without seeing much stronger Reasons for it than any I have hitherto heard offer'd.

One of the great Inconveniencies said to attend *Septennial Parliaments* is, that they heighten and increase those Heats and Animosities which are usually raised among the People about the Time of Elections; but this I cannot agree to, because it is well known that those Heats and Animosities rose to as great a Height, nay, to a much greater Height, during the Continuance of *Triennial Parliaments*, than they ever did since that Time; from whence we may observe, that the Violence of those Heats and Animosities does not depend upon the quick or the slow Return of Elections, but upon the Temper of the People at the Time. In every Nation there arises
sometimes

Sometimes a general Ferment among the People, sometimes without any visible Cause, and often from Causes that are in themselves unjust: In this Nation, if an Election for a new Parliament should come on when the Nation is in any such Ferment, the Heats and Animosities at that Time would certainly become extremely violent, nay so violent as to endanger the Peace of the Kingdom; and if we had *Annual* or even *Triennial Parliaments*, no such Ferment could ever happen but what would probably be attended with an Election, by which the Nation might be involved in such frequent Disorders and Confusions, as might at last make us a Prey for some foreign Enemy, which, in my Opinion, is a Danger much more to be apprehended, than any Danger our Constitution can be in from having our Parliaments *Septennial*.

Another Inconvenience is, that *Septennial Parliaments* increase and give Encouragement to Bribery and Corruption. That there is Bribery and Corruption, that there always has been Bribery and Corruption, is a Fact I shall not dispute: But that the Increase or Decrease of that Vice depends upon the frequent or the rare Return of Elections, is what I cannot agree to; for I am convinced it will always depend upon the Virtue of the People in general, and the Humour they happen to be in at the Time. I wish Bribery and Corruption of all Kinds could be prevented; but the Evil, I'm afraid, is inevitable; for notwithstanding the many express Laws against it, notwithstanding the severe Law made but a little while ago for preventing it, yet we find that Methods have been contrived for evading all those Laws, either by giving great Entertainments and great Plenty of Victuals, or by some more secret and corrupt Practices; so that the only Way to prevent the Growth of this Evil, is to preserve the Virtue of the People; and I believe the best Way to preserve the Virtue of the People, is to give them as few Opportunities as possible for being vicious; from whence I must conclude, that for obviating this Inconvenience, *Septennial Parliaments* are better than *Triennial*.

If so many and so great Inconveniences have been felt all over the Nation from *Septennial Parliaments*, if so great Complaints have been made, it is very strange that no Attempt has been made, ever since the passing of that Law, for the Repeal of it: But the Time now chosen for making that Attempt, shews plainly with what View it is made: It is now the last Session of a Parliament, a new Election must soon come on, and as this Motion has
an

an Appearance of Popularity among the meaner Sort of Electors, it may be of Service to some Gentlemen at the next Elections: And as to the Contentions about these Elections beginning so early, I do not know by whom they were begun, but I believe they have been set on Foot on Purpose to furnish Gentlemen with Arguments in this Day's Debate; and an hon. Gentleman has accordingly taken hold of it, and has made Use of those Contentions so early begun, as an Argument against *Septennial Parliaments*.

Another honourable Gentleman has given us a glorious Catalogue, as he was pleased to call it, of Laws passed by *Septennial Parliaments*; but I think he ought in a particular Manner to have guarded against putting the Riot Act into that Catalogue, for he knows it was founded on the same Motive with the *Septennial*: It was absolutely necessary for the Safety of the Government, and had it not been for some Executions in *Fleet-street*, in Consequence of that Act, I am persuaded it would not have been possible to have preserved the Peace of the Kingdom at that Time; and I must say, that it is somewhat very strange to hear Gentlemen arguing against Contentions and Riots at Elections, and at the same Time complaining of that Law which was made for the preventing of Riots upon any Occasion. As to the Law for regulating Trials in Cases of Treason, there was never a more reasonable Law passed in Parliament: Is it not at all Times absolutely inconsistent with the Safety of the Government; nay, is it not in itself ridiculous, that Rebels and Traitors should be tried by a Jury of their own Friends and Relations, embarked in the same wicked Designs, and as much disaffected to the Government, as the Prisoners at the Bar? Can it be expected that such a Jury will ever find the Prisoners guilty; and therefore when whole Counties had rebell'd, what could have been more reasonable than the sending the Rebels of those Counties to be tried in other Counties, where an honest and a disinterested Jury might be found; and as that Law was confined to the Rebels then in Custody, or such as should be taken within a short Time after, I am surprised to hear it found Fault with.

We have been told, that the Nation in general desires the Repeal of the *Septennial Law*, and that Instructions have been sent up to several Members for that Purpose. As to the Desire of the Nation in general, it is a Fact not easy to be determin'd; I do not know but the Mob, I mean

mean such as have no Business with Elections, may generally desire the Repeal of this Law, because they would then have an Opportunity of getting drunk, committing Riots, and living idly, much oftner than they have at present; but as to all those who have any Right to vote at Elections, I am convinced the Generality of them desire no such Thing. And as for those Instructions that may have been sent up to Members, no Man is ignorant how they are usually obtained: I saw a Copy of one of them lately in one of our Evening News-papers, and by the Stile of it I may leave any Gentleman to judge, what Sort of Persons they were who sent it, or rather obtained its being sent. As the Memory of King *William* will always, they know, be revered in *England*, by all those who are attach'd to the true Interest of their Country, these Instructions take particular Notice, that the *Triennial Law* was passed in the Reign of our great Deliverer, King *William*, of glorious and immortal Memory: But does not every Man, who has read the History of his Reign, know, that that Law was promoted by those who were, perhaps, Friends to the Revolution, but Enemies to the then Administration, co-operating with those who were Enemies to both.

In short, the *Septennial Law*, as well as the Riot Act, passed for the Safety and Establishment of the present Government; and, as I think in my Conscience, the Repeal of either of them would endanger the Government; I am therefore heartily against your Question.

Sir *William* *Wyndham*.

S I R,

THE honourable Gentleman who spoke last, in vindicating, as he call'd it, his learned Friend, threw out a very unfair Reflection upon the Conduct of a worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, whose Behaviour in Parliament I have been a Witness of, and I can say without Flattery, it has been as even and as honourable as the Behaviour of any Gentleman in this House; and if the honourable Gentleman thinks otherwise, I dare say he is single in his Opinion: He is, I believe, the only Man, either in the House or out of it, who thinks so; I wish the Behaviour of every other Gentleman, I will not say in this, but in former Parliaments, had been as unexceptionable; for if it had, I am very sure we would have had no Occasion for this Day's Debate.

The

The Observation made by the learned Gentleman, which the honourable Gentleman took up so much Time to explain, was without Exception ; it was just, it was plain, and therefore wanted neither an Explanation, nor a Vindication ; but what the worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, and others as well as he, took Notice of, was an Expression that fell from the learned Gentleman, I dare say, without Design: He said that we were to have no Dependance upon our Constituents ; he went further, he said it was a dangerous Dependance ; nay, he went further still, and said, it was more dangerous than a Dependance on the Crown : This, my worthy Friend took Notice of, and with his usual Modesty, called it a new Doctrine. It is not only a new Doctrine, but it is the most monstrous, the most slavish Doctrine was ever heard, and such a Doctrine as I hope no Man will ever dare to support within these Walls ; I am persuaded the learned Gentleman did not mean what the Words he happened to make Use of may seem to import ; for though the People of a County, City or Borough, may be misled, and may be induced to give Instructions which are contrary to the true Interest of their Country, yet I hope he will allow, that in Times past the Crown has been oftner misled, and consequently we must conclude, that it is more apt to be misled in Time to come, than we can suppose the People to be.

As to the Contests about the next Election, that they were begun a long while ago, is a certain Fact, but who the Beginners were, may not be so certain, or, at least, not so generally known ; and the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, seemed to be ignorant, or, indeed, rather to mistake who were the Beginners of them ; but if he pleases to look about him, he may see one not far distant from him, who, by his Agents, was the first and the principal Beginner of them in most Parts of the Kingdom. To see them begin so soon, is no new Thing, it is a state ministerial Artifice ; it has been practis'd ever since *Septennial Parliaments* took Place, and will be practis'd as long as they continue : Ministers of State know well how unequal the Contention is between a Country Gentleman, who has nothing but his own Estate (greatly exhausted by the many Taxes he pays) to depend on, and Ministerial Election-mongers, supplied by Gentlemen in Office, who have for seven Years been heaping up Money for that Purpose, or, perhaps, supply'd even by the publick Treasure of the Nation ; and the sooner this Contention.

tention begins, the greater Disadvantage the Country Gentlemen labour under, the more Time those Tools of Corruption have to practise upon the Electors, and to discover where that Money may be placed to the best Advantage, which is issued for corrupting the People, and overturning the Constitution: From hence it is obvious who have been, and who will always be the first Beginners of such Contentions.

The learned Gentleman (as well as some others, particularly an honourable Gentleman under the Gallery, who spoke early in the Debate, and who indeed said as much, and in as handsome a Manner as can, in my Opinion, be said against the Question) has told us, that our Constitution has been often vary'd; and that there was no Time when it was such as we ought, or would desire, to return to. It is not to be doubted but our Constitution has often vary'd, and, perhaps, there is no Time when it was without a Fault; but I will affirm, that there is no Time in which we may not find some good Things in our Constitution: There are now, there have been in every Century so good Laws existing: Let us preserve those that are good; if any of them have been abolished, let them be restored, and if any of the Laws now in Being are found to be attended with Inconveniencies, let them be repealed: This is what is now desired, this is what the People have Reason to expect from Parliament; there is nothing now desired but what the People have a Right to; they have now, they always had a Right to frequent new Parliaments; and this Right was establish'd and confirmed even by the Claim of Rights, notwithstanding what the learned Gentleman has said to the contrary. At the Time of the Revolution, nay at the present Time, at all Times, the Word Parliament, in the common Way of Speaking, comprehends all the Sessions held from one Election to another: That this is the common Meaning of the Word I appeal to every Gentleman in this House; and for this Reason those Patriots, who drew up our Claim of Rights, could not imagine that it was necessary to put in the Word *New*: They could not so much as dream that the two Words *frequent Parliaments*, would afterwards be interpreted to mean *frequent Sessions of Parliament*: but the Lawyers, who are accusom'd to confound the Sense of the plainest Words, immediately found out, that a Session of Parliament was a Parliament, and that therefore the Words *frequent Parliaments*, meant only *frequent Sessions*: This Quirk the Lawyers found out immediately

mediately after the Revolution; this Quirk the Courtiers at that Time caught hold of; and this set the People anew upon the Vindication of their Rights, which they obtained by the *Triennial Bill*: By that Bill the Right of the People to frequent new Parliaments, was establish'd in such clear Terms as not to be misunderstood; and God forgive them who consented to the giving it up.

I am extremely surpris'd, to hear it said, that the *Triennial Bill* was introduced by the Enemies to the Revolution. I will not say that it was introduced by the Courtiers at that Time: We seldom see such Bills introduced by such Gentlemen; but does not every one know, that it was my Lord *Somers* who was the chief Promoter of that Bill, and that most of those who supported him in it, were Gentlemen who had been deeply concerned in bringing about the Revolution? 'Tis true, the Courtiers oppos'd it, and even King *William* himself, by the Advice of some wicked Ministers, refus'd to pass it the first Time it was offer'd; but when it came back again to him he was better advis'd; and if he had not pass'd it, he had not done what he ought to do, he had not done all he came to do, nor that which when he came he promis'd to do, which was to restore the People to the full Enjoyment of all their Rights and Privileges.

To pretend that the *Triennial Bill* was introduced with a View of distressing King *William's* Government, is really casting a Reflection upon his Government; for to tell us, that the People's claiming those Rights, which he came to establish, was a distressing of his Government, is to tell us, that his Government was contrary to the Rights of the People; which is, in my Opinion, a very high Reflection, and such a one as the Gentlemen, who tell us so, would not patiently hear cast upon that Reign by others. The other Pretence, that *Triennial Parliaments* were the Cause of his putting an End to the War, or of that Treaty which was so much complain'd of, is, I am sure, as groundless; for the second War was begun and carry'd on with great Success, under the Influence of *Triennial Parliaments*, 'till the Ballance of Power was fully restored, and so firmly establish'd, that *France* has never since endeavour'd to make the least Incroachment upon any of her Neighbours: What some late Measures may encourage her to do hereafter, I shall not pretend to determine; but this Nation has ever since that Time enjoyed what I think I may call a profound Tranquillity, which, if the *Triennial Law* had remained in Force, we

would, I believe, have made a much better Use of, than we now seem to have done.

The learned Gentleman has told us, that the *Septennial Law* is a proper Medium between the unlimited Power of the Crown, and the limiting that Power too much; but before he had fixed upon this as a Medium, he should first have discover'd to us the two Extremes. I will readily allow, that an unlimited Power in the Crown, with Respect to the continuing of Parliaments, is one Extreme; but the other I cannot really find out; for I am very far from thinking, that the Power of the Crown was too much limited by the *Triennial Law*, or that the Happiness of the Nation was any Way injured by it, or can ever be injured by frequent Elections. As to the Power of the Crown, it is very certain, that as long as the Administration of publick Affairs is agreeable to the Generality of the People, were they to chuse a new Parliament every Year, they would chuse such Representatives as would most heartily concur in every Thing with such an Administration; so that even an *Annual Parliament* could not be any Limitation of the just Power of the Crown; and as to the Happiness of the Nation, it is certain, that Gentlemen will always contend with more Heat and Animosity about being Members of a long Parliament, than about being Members of a short one; and therefore the Elections for a *Septennial Parliament* must always disturb the Peace, and injure the Happiness of the Nation, more than the Elections for an *Annual* or *Triennial Parliament*: Of this the Elections in the City of London, mentioned by my worthy Friend, are an evident Demonstration.

As to the Elections coming on when the Nation is in a Ferment, it is so far from being an Objection to frequent Elections, that it is, in my Opinion, a strong Argument in Favour of them; because it is one of the chief Supporters of the Freedom of the Nation. It is plain, that the People seldom or ever were in a Ferment, but when Incroachments were made upon their Rights and Privileges; and when any such are made, it is very proper, nay, it is even necessary, that the People should be allowed to proceed to a new Election, in order that they may chuse such Representatives as will do them Justice, by punishing those who have been making Incroachments upon them; otherwise one of these two Effects may very probably ensue; either the Ferment will break out into an open Insurrection, or the Incroachment that has been made,

made, may happen to be forgot before a new Election comes on, and then the Invaders of the People's Rights will have a much better Lay for getting such a new Parliament chosen, as will not only free them from all Punishment, but will confirm the Incroachments that have been made, and encourage the making of new. Thus the Rights of the People may be nibbled and curtail'd by Piecemeal, and ambitious Criminals may at last get themselves so firmly seated, that it will be out of the Power of the People to stop their Career, or to avoid the Chains which they are preparing.

Now, to return to the Power of the Crown, which the learned Gentleman has told us was too much limited by the *Triennial Law*; I think I have made it plain, that the just Power of the Crown cannot possibly be limited by frequent Elections, and consequently could not be too much limited by the *Triennial Law*; but by long Parliaments the Crown may be enabled to assume, and to make Use of an unjust Power. By our Constitution the only legal Method we have of vindicating our Rights and Privileges against the Incroachments of ambitious Ministers is by Parliament; the only Way we have of rectifying a weak or wicked Administration is by Parliament; the only effectual Way we have of bringing high and powerful Criminals to condign Punishment is by Parliament; but if ever it should come to be in the Power of the Administration to have a Majority of this House depending upon the Crown, or to get a Majority of such Men returned as the Representatives of the People, the Parliament will then stand us in no Stead. It can answer none of these great Purposes; the whole Nation may be convinced of the Weakness or the Wickedness of those in the Administration, and yet it may be out of the Nation's Power, in a legal Way, to get the Fools turn'd out, or the Knaves hanged.

This Misfortune can be brought upon us by nothing but by Bribery and Corruption; and therefore there is nothing we ought to guard more watchfully against. And an honourable Gentleman who spoke some Time ago, upon the same Side with me, has so clearly demonstrated, that the Elections for a *Septennial Parliament* are more liable to be influenced by Corruption than those for a *Triennial*, that I am surpris'd his Argument should be mistaken, or not comprehended: But it seems the most certain Maxims, the plainest Truths, are now to be controverted or deny'd. It has been laid down as a Maxim,

and

and I think it is a most infallible Maxim, that a Man will contend with more Heat and Vigour, for a Post, either of Honour or Profit, which he is to hold for a long Term, than he will do for one he is to hold for a short Term. This has been controverted : It has been laid down as a Maxim, and I think equally infallible, that 100 Guineas is a more powerful Bribe than 50 ; this has been deny'd ; yet nevertheless I must beg Leave to push the Argument a little farther.

Let us suppose a Gentleman at the Head of the Administration, whose only Safety depends upon corrupting the Members of this House : This may now be only a Supposition, but it is certainly such a one as may happen ; and if ever it should, let us see if such a Minister might not promise himself more Success in a *Septennial* than he could in a *Triennial Parliament*. It is an old Maxim, that every Man has his Price, if you can but come up to it : This, I hope, does not hold true of every Man, but I am afraid it too generally holds true ; and that of a great many it may hold true, is what, I believe, was never doubted of, tho' I don't know but it may now likewise be deny'd. However, let us suppose this distressed Minister applying to one of those Men who has a Price, and is a Member of this House : In order to engage this Member to vote as he shall direct him, he offers him a Pension of 1000*l.* a Year ; if it be but a *Triennial Parliament*, will not the Member immediately consider within himself, If I accept of this Pension, and vote according to Direction, I shall lose my Character in the Country, I shall lose my Seat in Parliament the next Election, and my Pension will then of Course be at an End ; so that by turning Rogue I shall get but 3000*l.* this is not worth my while ; and so the Minister must either offer him, perhaps, double that Sum, or otherwise he will probably determine against being corrupted. But if the Parliament were *Septennial*, the same Man might, perhaps, say within himself, I am now in for seven Years, by accepting of this Pension I shall have at least 7000*l.* this will set me above Contempt ; and if I am turn'd out at next Election, I do not value it, I'll take the Money in the mean Time. Is it not very natural to suppose all this ; and does not this evidently shew, that a wicked Minister cannot corrupt a *Triennial Parliament* with the same Money with which he may corrupt a *Septennial*.

Again, suppose this Minister applies to a Gentleman who has purchased, and thereby made himself Member for a Borough, at the Rate of, perhaps, 1500*l.* besides travelling Charges, and other little Expences: Suppose the Minister offers him a Pension of 500*l.* a Year to engage his Vote, will not he naturally consider, if it be a *Triennial Parliament*, that if he cannot get a higher Pension he will lose Money by being a Member; and surely, if he be a right Burgefs, he will resolve not to sell at all, rather than sell his Commodity for less than it cost him; and if he finds he cannot sell at all, he will probably give over standing a Candidate again upon such a Footing; by which, not only he, but many others, will be induced to give over dealing in corrupting the Electors at the next Election: But in Case it be a *Septennial Parliament*, will he not then probably accept of the 500*l.* Pension, if he be one of those Men that has a Price? Because he concludes that for 1500*l.* he may always secure his Election; and every Parliament will put near 2000*l.* in his Pocket, besides reimbursing him all his Charges. After viewing the present Question in this Light, is it possible not to conclude, that *Septennial Parliaments*, as well as the Elections for such, must always be much more liable to be influenced by Corruption, than *Triennial*, or Elections for *Triennial*.

For my own Part, I have been often chosen, I have sat in Parliament above these twenty Years, and I can say with Truth, that neither at my Election, nor after my Return, no Man ever dared to attempt to let me know what is meant by Bribery and Corruption; but am sorry to hear the Impossibility of preventing it mention'd, and mention'd too within these Walls. The honourable Gentleman who spoke last told us, the Evil of Corruption was inevitable: If I were so unhappy as to think so, I should look upon my Country to be in the most melancholy Situation. Perhaps it may be the Way of thinking among those he keeps Company with; but I thank God I have a better Opinion of my Countrymen; and since it appears to be a Way of thinking among some Gentlemen, it is high Time for us to contrive some Method of putting it out of their Power to corrupt the Virtue of the People; for we may depend upon this as a certain Maxim, that those who think they cannot gain the Affections of the People, will endeavour to purchase their Prostitution; and the best Way to prevent the Success of their Endeavours, is to raise the Price so high, as to put
it

it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Set of Men, to come up to it. If a Parliament is to be purchased, if Elections are to be purchased, it is manifest the corrupting of *Triennial* must, upon the whole, cost a great deal more than the corrupting of *Septennial Elections* or *Parliaments*. Therefore, in order to put it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Administration, to purchase the Prostitution of a Parliament, or of the People, let us return to *Triennial Parliaments*; and if that will not do, let us return to *Annual Elections*, which, I am very certain, would render the Practice of Corruption impossible. This is now the more necessary, because of the many new Posts and Places of Profit which the Crown has at its Disposal, and the great Civil List settled upon his present Majesty, and which will probably be continued to his Successors: This, I say, urges the necessity for frequent new Parliaments, because the Crown has it now more in their Power than formerly, to seduce the People, or the Representatives of the People, in Case any future Administration should find it necessary for their own Safety to do so.

That the Increase or Decrease of Corruption at Elections, or in Parliament, must always depend upon the Increase or Decrease of Virtue among the People, I shall readily grant; but it is as certain, that the Virtue of almost every particular Man, depends upon the Temptations that are thrown in his Way; and according to the Quantity of Virtue he has, the Quantity of the Temptation must be raised, so as at last to make it an Overbalance for his Virtue. Suppose, then, that the Generality of the Electors in *England* had Virtue enough to withstand a Temptation of five Guineas each, but not Virtue enough to withstand a Temptation of ten Guineas one with another; is it not then much more probable, that the Gentlemen who deal in Corruption may be able to raise as much Money once every seven Years, as will be sufficient to give ten Guineas each, one with another, to the Generality of the Electors, than that they will be able to raise such a Sum once in every three Years? And is it not from thence certain, that the Virtue of the People in general is in greater Danger of being destroy'd by *Septennial* than by *Triennial Parliaments*? To suppose that every Man's Vote at an Election, is like a Commodity, which must be sold at the Market Price, is really to suppose that no Man has any Virtue at all; for I will aver, that when once a Man resolves to sell his

Vote

Vote at any Rate, he has then no Virtue left, which, I hope, is not the Case of many of our Electors, and therefore the only Thing we are to apprehend is, lest so high a Price should be offer'd as may tempt thousands to sell, who had never before any Thoughts of carrying such a Commodity to Market. This is the fatal Event we are to dread, and it is much more to be dreaded from *Septennial* than *Triennial Parliaments*. If we have therefore any Desire to preserve the Virtue of our People; if we have any Desire to preserve our Constitution; if we have any Desire to preserve our Liberties, our Properties, and every Thing that can be dear to a free People, we ought to restore the *Triennial Law*; and if that be found to be insignificant, we ought to abolish Prorogations, and return to *Annual Elections*.

The learned Gentleman spoke of the Prerogative of the Crown, and asked us, if it had *late*ly been extended beyond those Bounds prescribed to it by Law. I will not say that there has been *late*ly any Attempts to extend it beyond the Bounds prescribed by Law; but I will say, those Bounds have been of late so vastly enlarged, that there seems to be no great Occasion for any such Attempt. What are the many Penal Laws made within these forty Years, but so many Extensions of the Prerogative of the Crown, and as many Diminutions of the Liberty of the Subject? And whatever the Necessity was that brought us into the enacting of such Laws, it was a fatal Necessity; it has greatly added to the Power of the Crown, and particular Care ought to be taken not to throw any more Weight into that Scale. Perhaps the enacting of several of those Penal Laws might have been avoided; I am persuaded the enacting of the Law relating to Trials for Treason, not only might, but ought to have been avoided; for tho' it was but a temporary Law, it was a dangerous Precedent; and the Rebellion was far from being so general in any County, as not to leave a sufficient Number of faithful Subjects for trying those who had committed Acts of Treason within the County.

In former Times the Crown had a large Estate of its own; an Estate sufficient for supporting the Dignity of the Crown; and as we had no Standing Armies, nor any great Fleets to provide for, the Crown did not want frequent Supplies; so that they were not under any Necessity of calling frequent Parliaments; and as Parliaments were always troublesome, often dangerous to Ministers, therefore they avoided the calling of any such as much as possible.

sible : But tho' the Crown did not then want frequent Supplies, the People frequently wanted a Redress of Grievances, which could not be obtained but by Parliament ; therefore the only Complaint then was, that the Crown either did not call any Parliament at all, or did not allow them to sit long enough : This was the only Complaint ; and to remedy this, it was thought sufficient to provide for having frequent Parliaments, every one of which, 'twas presumed, was always to be a new Parliament ; for 'tis well known, that the Method of Prorogation was of old very rarely made Use of, and was first introduced by those who were attempting to make Encroachments upon the Rights of the People.

But now the Case is alter'd ; the Crown, either by ill Management, or by Prodigality and Profuseness to its Favourites, has spent or granted away all that Estate ; and the Publick Expence is so much enlarged, that the Crown must have annual Supplies, and is therefore under a Necessity of having the Parliament meet every Year ; but as new Elections are always dangerous as well as troublesome to Ministers of State, they are for having them as seldom as possible ; so that the Complaint is not now for want of frequent Meetings or Sessions of Parliament, but against having the same Parliament continued too long. This is the Grievance now complain'd of ; this is what the People desire ; this is what they have a Right to have redressed. The Members of Parliament may for one Year be look'd on as the real and true Representatives of the People ; but when a Minister has seven Years to practise on them, and to feel their Pulses, they may be induced to forget whose Representatives they are ; they may throw off all Dependence upon their Electors, and may become Dependents upon the Crown, or rather upon the Minister for the Time being, which the learned Gentleman has most ingenuously confessed to us, he thinks less dangerous than a Dependence upon his Electors.

We have been told in this House, that no Faith is to be given to Prophecies, therefore I shall not pretend to prophecy ; but I may suppose a Case, which, tho' it has not yet happen'd, may possibly happen. Let us then suppose a Man abandon'd to all Notions of Virtue or Honour, of no great Family, and of but a mean Fortune, rais'd to be chief Minister of State, by the Concurrence of many whimsical Events ; afraid or unwilling to trust any but Creatures of his own making, and

most of them equally abandoned to all Notions of Virtue and Honour; ignorant of the true Interest of his Country, and consulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing himself and his Favourites; in Foreign Affairs trusting none but such whose Education makes it impossible for them to have such Knowledge or such Qualifications as can either be of Service to their Country, or give any Weight or Credit to their Negotiations: Let us suppose the true Interest of the Nation by such Means neglected or misunderstood, her Honour and Credit lost, her Trade insulted, her Merchants plunder'd, and her Sailors murder'd; and all these Things overlook'd, only for fear his Administration should be endanger'd: Suppose him next possessed of great Wealth, the Plunder of the Nation, with a Parliament of his own choosing, most of their Seats purchased, and their Votes bought at the Expence of the Publick Treasure: In such a Parliament, let us suppose Attempts made to enquire into his Conduct, or to relieve the Nation from the Distress he has brought upon it; and when Lights proper for attaining those Ends are call'd for, not perhaps for the Information of the particular Gentlemen who call for them, but because nothing can be done in a Parliamentary Way, 'till these Things be in a proper Way laid before Parliament; suppose these Lights refused, these reasonable Requests rejected by a corrupt Majority of his Creatures, whom he retains in daily Pay, or engages in his particular Interest, by granting them those Posts and Places which ought never to be given to any but for the Good of the Publick: Upon this scandalous Victory, let us suppose this chief Minister pluming himself in Defiances, because he finds he has got a Parliament, like a packed Jury, ready to acquit him at all Adventures: Let us farther suppose him arrived to that Degree of Insolence and Arrogance, as to domineer over all the Men of antient Families, all the Men of Sense, Figure or Fortune in the Nation; and as he has no Virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt in all.

I am still not prophesying, I am only supposing; and the Case I am going to suppose I hope never will happen; but with such a Minister and such a Parliament, let us suppose a Prince upon the Throne, either for want of true Information, or for some other Reason, ignorant and unacquainted with the Inclinations and the Interest of his People, weak, and hurry'd away by unbounded Ambition

bition and insatiable Avarice : This Case has never happen'd in this Nation ; I hope, I say, 'twill never exist ; but as it is possible it may, could there any greater Curse happen to a Nation, than such a Prince on the Throne, advised and solely advised by such a Minister, and that Minister supported by such a Parliament. The Nature of Mankind cannot be alter'd by human Laws, the Existence of such a Prince, or such a Minister, we cannot prevent by Act of Parliament ; but the Existence of such a Parliament I think we may ; and as such a Parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more Mischief while the *Septennial Law* remains in Force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am most heartily for the Repeal of it.

Henry Pelham, Esq;

S I R,

THE honourable Gentleman who spoke last, as he always guards what he says, and speaks with so much Decency, that no Notice can be taken of it in a Parliamentary Way, so in the last Suppositions he was pleased to make, he observed so much Caution, that no Observations can be made on any Thing he said, as being contrary to the Orders of this House ; yet whatever Suppositions he may please to make with Respect to Ministers, I think he ought not to proceed any higher, and therefore I wish he had spared the last : However, as these Suppositions, and indeed every other Supposition I have heard, are all imaginary, I shall take no farther Notice of them ; they were certainly foreign to the Question in Debate, and had, I think, been better let alone.

As to the Contentions about Elections, I shall not pretend to determine by whom they were begun, but I think I can easily account for their having been begun at the Time they were, and that in a Method very different from that laid down by the honourable Gentleman who spoke last : It is well known what a Spirit, if not of Dissaffection, I am sure I may say of Distraction, was artfully raised during last Session of Parliament, in most Parts of this Nation, by the Misrepresentation of an Affair * before it was well understood, and which, when it came to be explain'd, could no Way bear the Meaning they put upon it : This was thought a proper Opportunity, by those who raised that Spirit, to work upon the Passions of the People, in order to gain their Favour, and to engage their

their Votes, neither of which they knew they had any Chance for in any other Way; and this, I really believe, was the Reason why the Contentions about Elections began so early in most Parts of the Kingdom; so that if the Gentleman meant my honourable Friend by me, he was very much mistaken; but if he looks another Way, and that within his View, he may find out the first chief Beginner of all these Disturbances.

As to the Question itself, as I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, and as the Question has been already so fully, and so handsomely opposed by the honourable Gentleman under the Gallery, and by several others, I shall only say in general, that as I am not sensible of any Inconveniencies that attend *Septennial Parliaments*, but what would in a much greater Degree attend *Triennial*, and as we know from Experience, that too frequent Elections keep the Nation in a continual Ferment, and always must expose us to the many Evils that ensue from Faction and Sedition, therefore I shall give my Vote against the Question.

William Pitt Esq;

S I R,

I Intended from the Beginning, to have spoke in this Debate; but as I now speak so late in it, I can have but little new to offer, the Gentlemen who have spoken before me, having almost entirely exhausted the Argument; and I am sure, if those who have heard the Debate are to be determined, as I hope they will, by what has been offered for and against the Question, it will hardly bear a Division. However, as I voted for this Bill on a former Occasion, and as the principal, and indeed the only Motive, which made me do so, now no longer subsists, I think myself obliged thus publicly to declare, that I am now as zealous to have it repealed, as I then was to have it enacted. When a Country, or the Government of a Country, is in any imminent Danger, it often happens, that People think Regulations necessary; which, when the Danger is over, appear to be attended with as pernicious Consequences, as that very Danger which they were made to prevent, and in such a Case, surely every honest Man must be as fond of having them abolished, as ever he was of having them established.

The

The honourable Gentleman who spoke last, tho' he let drop some Expressions with Relation to that Contention already begun about our ensuing Elections, which I might take some Notice of, yet as he generally speaks with very great Candour, I think it would be too severe not to pardon any Slip he may have made in that Respect: But as to the Spirit raised in the Nation last Session of Parliament, which he says was raised by Misrepresentation, and was pleased to call a Spirit, if not of Disaffection, at least of Distracti^on, I do not know, but it may have been represented as such in another Place; and whether that was a Misrepresentation, I shall leave to the World to judge; but of all Misrepresentations, I will say, the most criminal is that of misrepresenting to the King the true Sentiments and real Inclinations of his People; for, however much some Gentlemen may find their Interest in it, I am sure it is not their Duty to do so; but I hope his present will always be able to distinguish, and it is the Duty of Parliament to inform him how to distinguish between Disaffection to his Government, and Disaffection to his Minister. If the honourable Gentleman thinks, that the Affair which occasioned the Rise of that Spirit, was at first misrepresented, or that it gained any Advantage by being fully explained, he is, in the Opinion of, I believe, much the greatest Part of the Nation, vastly mistaken; for, the more seriously that Affair has been considered, the more fully it has been explained, the more horrible it has appeared; so that the Spirit, which was raised in Opposition to it, was so far from being unjustly, or groundlessly raised, that I believe it would have been for the Advantage of the Nation, that a new Election had come on, when that Spirit was in its greatest Vigour; and I hope it will not altogether subside, till the People have fully secured their Liberties against all such Attempts for the future.

To imagine that frequent Elections should ever become the Cause of Faction and Sedition, is, in my Opinion, something very extraordinary; for it is certain, that Seditions have always proceeded from a general Discontent among the People, and a long Disappointment of meeting, in a legal Way, with that Redress which they had Reason to expect; and till this Discontent becomes violent as well as general, no Faction will ever break out into Sedition: Then indeed Faction begins to change its Name, and those Men, who at first
perhaps

perhaps with Justice were charged with being factious, become then the Patrons and the Protectors of the Rights of the People, and of the Liberties of their Country; for nothing can be called Faction, but when a Set of Men combine and unite together against a wise and a just Government, which no Government can be, that disoblige and irritates the Generality of the People. The certain and the only Way therefore of preventing Sedition, and disappointing Faction, is to give the People frequent Opportunities of representing their Grievances, and obtaining Redress in that legal Way which is prescribed by the Constitution of their Country. Such a Way ought certainly to be establish'd, and is establish'd in every wise Constitution; otherwise the People will seek that by Sedition, which they find they cannot obtain by Law; and the Method which is established by our Constitution, is by a Parliament chosen by the free and uncorrupted Voice of the People; therefore, in Order to avoid Sedition, every Thing ought to be carefully avoided, which may tend to the interrupting the free Choice of the People; and the oftner this Choice is made, the better our Country is guarded against Sedition; because, in a long Parliament the People may in the Beginning of it be disoblige; they may despair of obtaining Redress from that Parliament, and before the End their Discontents may become so violent, as to break out in Seditions and Insurrections.

Faction and Sedition are two Words that have always been made Use of by the Advocates for arbitrary Power, in order to induce the People that give up those Privileges upon which their Liberties depended, or to divert them from reassuming, or vindicating those which had been before foolishly given up, or unjustly usurped and taken from them; but it is to be hoped, those two hideous Words will never in this Country have the desired Effect. It has been already fully shewn, that the Elections for a long Parliament must always be attended with more violent Heats and Animosities, than the Elections for a short; consequently the Country must always be more exposed to Factions and Seditions by the former, than by the latter: I do not know, but the Election for a Parliament may come at last to be like the Election of a King of Poland; it may be always attended with a civil War, perhaps with an unwelcome Visit from some of our Neighbours: Therefore if the Fears of Faction and Sedition be any Argument against frequent Elections, as
good

good an Argument may from thence be drawn against electing any new Parliament at all ; so that I do not know but I may see a Proposition made for continuing our Seats in the House for Life ; and after that, it may be thought proper to make a Law for transmitting them to our Heirs, nay even to our Executors or Administrators.

An honourable Gentleman seem'd much surpris'd that the Riot Act should have been mentioned upon this Occasion, or that any Gentleman should have the least Thought of having it repealed. I declare, upon my Honour, that of all the Actions I ever did in my Life, there is not one I more heartily and sincerely repent of, than my voting for the passing of that Law. I believe I am as little suspected of Disaffection to his Majesty or his Family as any Man in the Kingdom ; it was my too great Zeal for his illustrious Family transported me to give that Vote, for which I am now heartily grieved : But even then I never imagined it was to remain a Law for ever ; no ! this Government is founded upon Resistance ; it was the Principle of Resistance that brought about the Revolution, which cannot be justified upon any other Principle. Is then Passive Obedience and Non-resistance to be established by a perpetual Law, by a Law the most severe and the most arbitrary of any in *England*, and that under a Government which owes its very Being to Resistance ? The honourable Gentleman who first mentioned it said very right, It is a Scandal it should remain in our Statute Books ; and I will say, they are no Friends to his Majesty or to his Government who desire it should ; for it destroys that Principle upon which is founded one of his best Titles to the Crown : While this remains a Law, we cannot well be cannot well be called a free People ; a little Justice of the Peace, assisted perhaps by a Serjeant and a Parcel of Hirelings, may almost at any Time have the Lives of twenty Gentlemen of the best Families in *England* in his Power.

As to Bribery and Corruption, it has been so fully and so clearly demonstrated that *Septennial Parliaments* are more liable than *Triennial* to be influenced by such base Methods, that I shall conclude with observing what every Gentleman I believe is sensible of : It is come to a most intolerable Height ; in many, nay in most Parts of our Constitution, we are sunk to the lowest and vilest Degrees of Corruption ; and if some extraordinary Event do

do not prevent it, our Constitution will soon be irrecoverably lost.

Mr. Ch^{ancellor} of the Ex^{chequer}.

S I R,

I DO assure you, I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, but such Incidents now generally happen towards the End of our Debates, nothing at all relating to the Subject, and Gentlemen make such Suppositions, meaning some Person, or perhaps, as they say, no Person now in Being, and talk so much of wicked Ministers, domineering Ministers, Ministers pluming themselves in Defiances, which Terms, and such like, have been of late so much made Use of in this House, that if they really mean no Body either in the House or out of it, yet it must be supposed they at least mean to call upon some Gentleman in this House to make them a Reply; and therefore I hope I may be allowed to draw a Picture in my Turn; and I may likewise say, that I do not mean to give a Description of any particular Person now in Being. When Gentlemen talk of Ministers abandoned to all Sense of Virtue or Honour, other Gentlemen may, I am sure, with equal Justice, and, I think, more justly, speak of Anti-ministers and Mock-patriots, who never had either Virtue or Honour, but in the whole Course of their Opposition are actuated only by Motives of Envy, and of Resentment against those who have disappointed them in their Views, or may not perhaps have complied with all their Desires.

But now, Sir, let me too suppose, and the House being cleared, I am sure no Person that hears me can come within the Description of the Person I am to suppose: Let us suppose in this, or in some other unfortunate Country, an Anti-minister, who thinks himself a Person of so great and extensive Parts, and of so many eminent Qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only Person in the Kingdom capable to conduct the publick Affairs of the Nation, and therefore christening every other Gentleman, who has the Honour to be employed in the Administration, by the Name of Blunderer: Suppose this fine Gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his Party some Persons really of fine Parts, of ancient Families, and of great Fortunes, and others of desperate Views, arising from disappointed and malicious Hearts; all these Gentlemen, with respect to their political Behaviour, moved by him, and

H

by

by him solely ; all they say, either in private or publick, being only a Repetition of the Words he has put into their Mouths, and a spitting out that Venom which he has infused into them ; and yet we may suppose this Leader not really liked by any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of Mankind : We'll suppose this Anti-minister to be in a Country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an Effect of too much Goodness and Mercy, yet endeavouring with all his Might and with all his Art, to destroy the Fountain from whence that Mercy flowed : In that Country suppose him continually contracting Friendships and Familiarities with the Ambassadors of those Princes who at the Time happen to be most at Enmity with his own ; and if at any Time it should happen to be for the Interest of any of those foreign Ministers to have a Secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native Country, as well as to all its Friends ; suppose this foreign Minister applying to him, and he answering, I'll get it you, tell me but what you want, I'll endeavour to procure it for you : Upon this he puts a Speech or two in the Mouths of some of his Creatures, or some of his new Converts ; what he wants is moved for in Parliament, and when so very reasonable a Request as this is refused, suppose him and his Creatures and Tools, by his Advice, spreading the Alarm over the whole Nation, and crying out, Gentlemen, our Country is at present involved in many dangerous Difficulties, all which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked Minister and a corrupt Majority refused us the proper Materials ; and upon this scandalous Victory, this Minister became so insolent as to plume himself in Defiances : Let us farther suppose this Anti-minister to have travelled, and at every Court where he was, thinking himself the greatest Minister, and making it his Trade to betray the Secrets of every Court where he had before been ; void of all Faith or Honour, and betraying every Master he ever served. I could carry my Suppositions a great deal farther, and I may say I mean no Person now in Being ; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater Disgrace to Human Nature than such a Wretch as this ?

Now, to be serious, and to talk really to the Subject in Hand : Tho' the Question has been already so fully and so handsomely opposed by my worthy Friend under the

the Gallery, by the learned Gentleman near me, and by several others, that there is no great Occasion to say any Thing farther against it; yet as some new Matter has been started by some of the Gentlemen who have since that Time spoke upon the other Side of the Question, I hope the House will indulge me the Liberty of giving some of those Reasons which induce me to be against the Motion. In general I must take Notice, that the Nature of our Constitution seems to be very much mistaken by the Gentlemen who have spoken in favour of this Motion. It is certain, that ours is a mixt Government, and the Perfection of our Constitution consists in this, that the Monarchial, Aristocratical and Democratical Forms of Government are mixt and interwoven in ours, so as to give us all the Advantages of each, without subjecting us to the Dangers and Inconveniencies of either. The Democratical Form of Government, which is the only one I have now Occasion to take Notice of, is liable to these Inconveniencies, That they are generally too tedious in their coming to any Resolution, and seldom brisk and expeditious enough in carrying their Resolutions into Execution: That they are always wavering in their Resolutions, and never steady in any of the Measures they resolve to pursue; and that they are often involved in Factions, Seditions and Insurrections, which exposes them to be made the Tools, if not the Prey of their Neighbours: Therefore in all the Regulations we make, with respect to our Constitution, we are to guard against running too much into that Form of Government which is properly called Democratical: This was, in my Opinion, the Effect of the *Triennial Law*, and will again be the Effect, if ever it should be restored.

That *Triennial Elections* would make our Government too tedious in all their Resolves is evident, because in such Case, no prudent Administration would ever resolve upon any Measure of Consequence, till they had felt not only the Pulse of the Parliament, but the Pulse of the People; and the Ministers of State would always labour under this Disadvantage that as Secrets of State must not be immediately divulged, their Enemies (and Enemies they will always have) would have a Handle for exposing their Measures, and rendering them disagreeable to the People, and thereby carrying perhaps a new Election against them, before they could have an Opportunity of justifying their Measures, by divulging those Facts and Circumstances from whence the Justice

and the Wisdom of their Measures would clearly appear.

Then, it is by Experience well known, that what is called the Populace of every Country, are apt to be too much elated with success, and too much dejected with every Misfortune, this makes them wavering in their Opinions about Affairs of State, and never long of the same Mind; and as this House is chosen by the free and unbiassed Voice of the People in general, if this Choice were so often renewed, we might expect, that this House would be as wavering, and as unsteady as the People usually are; and it being impossible to carry on the publick Affairs of the Nation without the Concurrence of this House, the Ministers would always be obliged to comply, and consequently would be obliged to change their Measures as often as the People changed their Minds.

With *Septennial Parliaments* we are not exposed to either of these Misfortunes, because, if the Ministers, after having felt the Pulse of the Parliament, which they can always soon do, resolve upon any Measures, they have generally Time enough before the new Election comes on, to give the People a proper Information, in order to shew them the Justice and the Wisdom of the Measures they have pursued; and if the People should at any Time be too much elated, or too much dejected, or should without a Cause change their Minds, these at the Helm of Affairs have Time to set them right, before a new Election comes on.

As to Faction and Sedition, I will grant that is Monarchical and Aristocratical Governments, it generally arises from Violence and Oppression; but in Democratical Governments, it always arises from the People's having too great a Share in the Government; for in all Countries, and in all Governments, there always will be many factious and unquiet Spirits, who can never be at Rest, either in Power or out of Power: When in Power they are never easy, unless every Man submits entirely to their Direction; and when out of Power, they are always working and intriguing against those that are in, without any Regard to Justice, or to the Interest of their Country: In popular Governments such Men have too much Game, they have too many Opportunities for working upon and corrupting the Minds of the People, in order to give them a bad Impression of, and to raise Discontents against those that have the Management of the

the publick Affairs for the Time; and these Discontents often break out into Seditions and Insurrections. This would in my Opinion be our Misfortune, if our Parliaments were either *Annual* or *Triennial*: By such frequent Elections, there would be so much Power thrown into the Hands of the People, as would destroy that equal Mixture, which is the Beauty of our Constitution: In short; our Government would really become a Democratical Government, and might from thence very probably diverge into a tyrannical. Therefore, in order to preserve our Constitution, in order to prevent our falling under Tyranny and arbitrary Power, we ought to preserve that Law, which I really think has brought our Constitution to a more equal Mixture, and consequently to a greater Perfection than it was ever in before that Law took Place.

As to Bribery and Corruption, if it were possible to influence, by such base Means, the Majority of the Electors of *Great Britain*, to chuse such Men as would probably give up their Liberties, if it were possible to influence by such Means, a Majority of the Members of this House to consent to the Establishment of Arbitrary Power, I should readily allow, that the Calculations made by the Gentlemen of the other Side were just, and their Inference true; but I am persuaded that neither of these is possible. As the Members of this House generally are, and must always be, Gentlemen of Fortune and Figure in their Country, is it possible to suppose, that any of them could by a Pension or a Post be influenced to consent to the Overthrow of our Constitution, by which the Enjoyment, not only of what he got, but of what he before had, would be render'd altogether precarious. I will allow, that with Respect to Bribery, the Price must be higher or lower, generally in Proportion to the Virtue of the Man who is to be bribed; but it must likewise be granted, that the Humour he happens to be in at the Time, the Spirit he happens to be endow'd with, adds a great deal to his Virtue: When no Incroachments are made upon the Rights of the People, when the People do not think themselves in any Danger, there may be many of the Electors, who, by a Bribe of ten Guineas, might be induced to vote for one Candidate rather than another; but if the Court were making any Encroachments upon the Rights of the People, a proper Spirit would, without Doubt, arise in the Nation, and in such a Case I am persuaded that none, or
very

very few, even of such Electors, could be induced to vote for a Court Candidate, no not for ten Times the Sum.

There may be some Bribery and Corruption in the Nation, I am afraid there will always be some ; but it is no Proof of it that Strangers are sometimes chosen ; for a Gentleman may have so much natural Influence over a Borough in his Neighbourhood, as to be able to prevail with them to chuse any Person he pleases to recommend ; and if upon such Recommendation they chuse one or two of his Friends, who are perhaps Strangers to them, it is not from thence to be inferred, that the two Strangers were chosen their Representatives by the Means of Bribery and Corruption.

To insinuate that Money may be issued from the publick Treasury for bribing Elections, is really something very extraordinary, especially in those Gentlemen who know how many Checks are upon every Shilling that can be issued from thence ; and how regularly the Money granted in one Year for the Service of the Nation, must always be accounted for the very next Session in this House, and likewise in the other, if they have a Mind to call for any such Account. And as to the Gentlemen in Offices, if they have any Advantage over Country Gentlemen, in having something else to depend on besides their own private Fortunes, they have likewise many Disadvantages : They are obliged to live here at *London* with their Families, by which they are put to a much greater Expence, than Gentlemen of equal Fortune who live in the Country : This lays them under a very great Disadvantage, with Respect to the supporting their Interest in the Country : The Country Gentleman, by living among the Electors, and purchasing the Necessaries for his Family from them, keeps up an Acquaintance and Correspondence with them, without putting himself to any extraordinary Charge ; whereas a Gentleman who lives in *London*, has no other Way of keeping up an Acquaintance and Correspondence among his Friends in the Country, but by going down once or twice a Year, at a very extraordinary Expence, and often without any other Business ; so that we may conclude, a Gentleman in Office cannot, even in seven Years, save much for distributing in ready Money, at the Time of an Election ; and I really believe, if the Fact were narrowly enquir'd into, it would appear, that the Gentlemen in Office are as little guilty of bribing their Electors
with

with ready Money, as any other set of Gentlemen in the Kingdom.

That there are Ferments often raised among the People without any just Cause, is what I am surpris'd to hear controverted, since very late Experience may convince us of the contrary : Do not we know what a Ferment was raised in the Nation towards the latter End of the late Queen's Reign ? And it is well known what a fatal Change in the Affairs of this Nation were introduced, or at least confirmed by an Election coming on while the Nation was in that Ferment : Do not we know what a Ferment was raised in the Nation soon after his late Majesty's Accession ? And if an Election had then been allowed to come on while the Nation was in that Ferment, it might perhaps have had as fatal Effects as the former ; but, thank God, this was wisely provided against by the very Law which is now wanted to be repealed.

It has, indeed, been said, that the chief Motive for enacting that Law now no longer exists : I cannot admit that the Motive they mean was the chief Motive ; but even that Motive is very far from having entirely ceased. Can Gentlemen imagine, that in the Spirit raised in the Nation not about a Twelvemonth since, *Jacobitism* and Disaffection to the present Government had no Share ? Perhaps some who might wish well to the present Establishment did co-operate, nay, I do not know but they were the first Movers of that Spirit ; but it cannot be supposed that the Spirit then raised should have grown up to such a Ferment, meerly from a Proposition which was honestly and fairly laid before the Parliament, and left entirely to their Determination ! No, the Spirit was, perhaps, begun by those who are truly Friends to the illustrious Family we have now upon the Throne ; but it was raised to a much greater Height than, I believe, even they design'd, by *Jacobites*, and such as are Enemies to our present Establishment, who thought they never had a fairer Opportunity of bringing about what they have so long and so unsuccessfully wished for, than that which had been furnish'd them by those who first raised that Spirit. I hope the People have now in a great Measure come to themselves, and therefore I doubt not but the next Elections will shew, that when they are left to judge coolly, they can distinguish between the real and the pretended Friends to the Government : But I must say, if the Ferment then raised in the Nation had
not

not already greatly subsided, I should have thought a new Election a very dangerous Experiment; and as such Ferments may hereafter often happen, I must think that frequent Elections will always be dangerous; for which Reason, in so far as I can see at present, I shall, I believe, at all Times think it a very dangerous Experiment to repeal the *Septennial Bill*.

These were the only Gentlemen who spoke in this Debate, except *Edward Hart*ey, Esq; and *William Shippen*, Esq; who both spoke in favour of the Question, after Mr. C—— is, and before Col. B——; and Sir *Edward Stanhope*, who spoke likewise in favour of it, and next after Sir *William Yonge*.

Upon a Division, the Question pass'd in the Negative, 247 against 184.

As this was a Question of the utmost Consequence, we here give our Readers a compleat List of those who voted for and against it.



Members who voted for repealing the Septennial Act.

Those marked * spoke in the Debate.

Bedfordshire.

C Charles Leigh, Esq;
Sir Jer. Van. Sambrook

Berks.

Wincomb Packer, Esq;

—— Archer, Esq;

George Lewen, Esq;

Bucks.

Sir William Stanhope

Sir Thomas Lee

Henry Waller, Esq;

Sir Charles Vernon

Marmaduke Allington, Esq;

Thomas Lutwich, Esq;

Lord Viscount Limerick

Edmund Waller, Esq;

Sir Thomas Hobby

Cambridgeshire.

* Sir John Hynde Cotton
Tho. Sclater Bacon, Esq;

Cheshire.

* Cha. Cholmondeley, Esq;

Sir Robert Grosvenor

Sir Charles Bunbury

Cornwall.

* Sir John St. Aubin

Sir William Carew

Arthur Tremaine, Esq;

Hugh Boscawen, Esq;

Sidney Meadows, Esq;

Philip Hawkins, Esq;

Sir Cecil Bishop

Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq;

Sir William Morrice

Henry

Henry Vane, *Esq;*
Cumberland.
 John Hilton, *Esq;*
Derbyshire.
 Lord James Cavendish
 Charles Stanhope, *Esq;*
Devonshire.
 Sir William Courtney
 Henry Rolle, *Esq;*
 Francis Drew, *Esq;*
 Theophilus Fortescue, *Esq;*
 John Fuller, *Esq;*
 Sir Humphry Monoux
 Richard Reynell, *Esq;*
 Richard Coffin, *Esq;*
Dorsetshire.
 George Chaffin, *Esq;*
 Edm. Moreton Pleydell, *Esq;*
 John Brown, *Esq;*
 Sir Edward Desbouverie
 John Banks, *Esq;*
Durham.
 George Bowes, *Esq;*
 Robert Shaftoe, *Esq;*
Essex.
 Sir Robert Abdy
 Thomas Bramston, *Esq;*
Gloucestershire.
 Benjamin Bathurst, *Esq;*
 Thomas Masters, *Esq;*
 Peter Bathurst, *Esq;*
Herefordshire.
 * Edward Harley, *Esq;*
 Velters Cornwall, *Esq;*
 Thomas Winford, *Esq;*
 Lord Bateman
Hertfordshire.
 Sir Thomas Seabright
 Charles Cæsar, *Esq;*
 John Merril, *Esq;*
Huntingtonshire.
 John Bigg, *Esq;*
 Edward Wortley, *Esq;*
Kent.
 Sir Roger Meredith
 Sir Edward Deering

John Finch, *Esq;*
Lancashire.
 * Sir Edward Stanley
 Richard Shuttleworth, *Esq;*
 Nicholas Fazakerley, *Esq;*
 Sir Thomas Lowther
 * William Shippen, *Esq;*
 Legh Masters, *Esq;*
 Peter Bold, *Esq;*
 Thomas Lister, *Esq;*
 Sir Thomas Aston
Leicestershire.
 Ambrose Phillips, *Esq;*
 Sir George Beaumont
 George Wright, *Esq;*
Lincolnshire.
 Sir Thomas Saunderson
 Robert Viner, *Esq;*
 Charles Hall, *Esq;*
 Lord Colerain
 John Page, *Esq;*
 Robert Shirley, *Esq;*
 Sir Michael Newton
Middlesex.
 Sir Francis Child
 * Sir John Barnard
 Micajah Perry, *Esq;*
 Humphry Parsons, *Esq;*
Monmouthshire.
 * Lord Noel Somerset
Norfolk.
 Sir Edmund Bacon
Northamptonshire.
 Sir Justinian Isham
 Thomas Cartwright, *Esq;*
 Jo. Banks, *Esq;*
 Armistead Parker, *Esq;*
 George Compton, *Esq;*
 Dr. Lee
 John Fynch, *Esq;*
Northumberland.
 Ralph Jenison, *Esq;*
 Nicholas Fenwick, *Esq;*
 Lord Morpeth
Nottinghamshire.
 William Levinz, *Esq;*
 I *Oxon.*

Oxon.

Sir William Stapleton
 Henry Perrot, *Esq*;
 Lord Cornbury.
 George Clark, *Esq*;
 Thomas Rowney, *Esq*;
 John Spencer, *Esq*;

Salop.

John Walcot, *Esq*;
 Will. Lacon Child, *Esq*;
 Sir John Astley
 Richard Lyfler, *Esq*;
 Sir John Charleton

Somersetshire.

* Sir William Wyndham
 Thomas Horner, *Esq*;
 Robert Gay, *Esq*;
 Thomas Edwards, *Esq*;
 Thomas Palmer, *Esq*;
 Alexander Lutterel, *Esq*;
 Thomas Crisp, *Esq*;
 Michael Hervey, *Esq*;

Southampton.

Anthony Henley, *Esq*;
 Joseph Taylor, *Esq*;
 John Chetwynd, *Esq*;
 Sir John Barrington
 William Powlett, *Esq*;

Staffordshire.

Will. Lev. Gower, *Esq*;
 Sir Walter Bagott
 Geo. Venables Vernon, *Esq*;
 Lord Chetwynd
 Joseph Nightingale, *Esq*;
 Bapt. Levifon Gower, *Esq*;
 John Ward, *Esq*;
 Lord Inchequin

Suffolk.

Sir Robert Kemp
 Sir Jermyon Davers
 Philip Brooke, *Esq*;
 Thomas Wyndham, *Esq*;
 William Aston, *Esq*;
 Robert Kemp, *Esq*;
 Sir John Williams

Surrey.

Thomas Scawen, *Esq*;
 Thomas Inwen, *Esq*;
 Ja. Cocks, *Esq*;
 William Newland, *Esq*;

Suffex.

Samuel Ongley, *Esq*;
 Lord Vane

Warwickshire.

Edward Digby, *Esq*;
 Sir Charles Mordaunt
 Sir William Keyte
 * William Bromley, *Esq*;

Westmoreland.

* Walter Plummer, *Esq*;

Wiltshire.

John Ivory Talbot, *Esq*;
 John How, *Esq*;
 * George Heathcote, *Esq*;
 Francis Annesley, *Esq*;
 Francis Seymour, *Esq*;
 Thomas Harrifon, *Esq*;
 Edward Lisle, *Esq*;

Worcestershire.

Samuel Sandys, *Esq*;
 Edward Foley, *Esq*;
 Sir John Rushout

Yorkshire.

Sir Henry Slingsby
 William Aislaby, *Esq*;
 John York, *Esq*;
 * William Pultney, *Esq*;

Cinque Ports.

George Berkeley, *Esq*;
 Henry Furnese, *Esq*;
 Philip Gybbon, *Esq*;

Wales.

Lord Bulkley
 Will. Gwyn Vaughan, *Esq*;
 Richard Lloyd, *Esq*;
 * Watkin Will. Wynn, *Esq*;
 John Myddleton, *Esq*;
 Sir Roger Mostyn
 Bussy Mansel, *Esq*;
 Price Devereux, *Esq*;
 Erasmus Phillips, *Esq*;

Scotland.

Scotland.

John Cockburn, *Esq*;
Robert Dundas, *Esq*;
Thomas Erskine, *Esq*; Cap-
tain in the Army
Sir George Mackenzie
Sir James Dalrymple
Captain Dalrymple

Colonel Dalrymple
William Duff, *Esq*;
John Murray, *Esq*;
Sir John Bruce

TELLERS.

Sir John St. Aubin
William Bromley, *Esq*;



Members who voted against repealing the Septennial Act.

Those mark'd * spoke in the Debate.

Bedfordshire.

SIR Rowland Alston
John Orlebar, *Esq*;

Berks.

Lord Vere Beauclerc, Com-
missioner of the Navy
William Hucks, *Esq*; Brewer
to the King's Household
Robert Hucks, *Esq*; his Son

Bucks.

Thomas Ingoldesby, *Esq*;

Cambridgeshire.

Thomas Townshend, *Esq*;
Teller of the Exchequer

Cornwall.

Thomas Clutterbuck, *Esq*;
Commissioner of the Ad-
miralty

Colonel Cope, Colonel of a
Regiment

Edward Walpole, *Esq*; Joint
Secretary of the Treasury
and Collector inward of
the Customs

Sir J. Heathcote

John Evelyn, *Esq*; Groom
of the Bed-chamber to
the Prince.

John Harris, *Esq*;

Lord Glenorchy

Corbet, *Esq*; Under-
secretary of the Admi-
ralty

Thomas Hales, *Esq*; Clerk
of the Green-cloth

* John Willes, *Esq*; Attor-
ney General

Thomas Walker, *Esq*; Sur-
veyor General of his Ma-
jesty's Land Revenues

Isaac Leheup, *Esq*;

Charles Longueville, *Esq*;
Auditor to the Queen

Matt. Ducie Moreton, *Esq*;

John Goddard, *Esq*; Com-
missioner to settle the
Merchants Losses by the
Spaniards

John Hedges, *Esq*; Treasu-
rer to the Prince

Major Cholmondeley, *Esq*;
Governor of *Chester* Castle

Sir Robert Rich, Colonel of
Horse, and Groom of the
Bed-chamber to the King

Henry Knollys, *Esq*;

Richard Elliot, *Esq*; Audi-
tor to the Prince

Dudley Ryder, *Esq*; Solici-
tor General

- Henry Kelsal, *Esq*; Clerk of the Treasury
 Thomas Farrington, *Esq*; Receiver of the Revenues in Wales
 Thomas Herbert, *Esq*;
 William East, *Esq*;
 Thomas Copleston, *Esq*; a Place in Ireland
Cumberland.
 Colonel Howard, Colonel of the Guards
Devonshire.
 Sir Charles Wills, Colonel of the Guards, and Lieutenant General of the Ordnance
 Sir Henry Gough
 Robert Byng, *Esq*; Commissioner of the Navy
 Arthur Stert, *Esq*; Commissioner to settle the Merchants Losses by the *Spaniards*
 Richard Edgcomb, *Esq*; Vice-treasurer of Ireland
 * Sir William Yonge, Commissioner of the Treasury
 George Treby, *Esq*; Master of the Household
 Sir Archer Croft, Commissioner of Trade
 Colonel Morden
 Sir Francis Drake
Dorsetshire.
 George Trenchard, *Esq*;
 Thomas Windham, *Esq*;
 Holt Henly, *Esq*; Clerk of the Pipe
 Thomas Pearse, Commissioner of the Navy
 George Doddington, *Esq*;
 John Jewkes, *Esq*;
 William Bowles, *Esq*;
 Stephen Fox, *Esq*;
 Nathaniel Gould, *Esq*;
- John Bond, *Esq*;
 Edward Tucker, *Esq*;
Essex.
 Stamp Brooksbank, *Esq*;
 Samuel Tufnel, *Esq*; Commissioner for settling Commerce
 Hen. Parsons, *Esq*; Commissioner of the Victualling
 Lord Egmont
 Sir Philip Parker
Gloucestershire.
 Colonel Berkley
 Sir J. Dutton
 Charles Selwin, *Esq*; Equerry to the Queen
 George Read, *Esq*; Major of the Guards
Herefordshire.
 Lord Carnarvon, Lord of the Bed-chamber to the Prince
 Sir George Caswall
 Uvedal Price, *Esq*;
Hertfordshire.
 Lord Grimstone
 Sir Thomas Clark
 George Harrison, *Esq*;
Huntingtonshire.
 Robert Pigott, *Esq*;
Kent.
 Sir John Jennings, Governor of Greenwich Hospital
 Thomas Hope, *Esq*;
 Sir Geo. Saunders, Commissioner of the Admiralty
 Richard Evans, *Esq*; Deputy Governor of Sheerness, and Captain of Dragoons
Lancashire.
 Christopher Towers, *Esq*;
 Reversionary Auditor of the Imprests
 Sir Roger Bradshaigh
 Lord Galway
 Sir Harry Houghton
Leicestershire.

Leicestershire.

Lord Will. Mannors, Lord
of the Bed-chamber to the
King

Lincolnshire.

George Monson, *Esq*;

Middlesex.

William Clayton, *Esq*; Com-
missioner of the Treasury

Sir John Eyles

Norfolk.

Walter Bacon, *Esq*;

* Sir Rob. Walpole, Chan-
cellor of the Exchequer,
and Lord of the Treasury

Sir Charles Turner, Teller
of the Exchequer

William Townshend, *Esq*;
Groom of the Bed-cham-
ber to the Prince

Horatio Walpole, *Esq*; Cof-
ferer

Sir Edmund Bacon, who
hath a Grant of Crown
Lands at *Chatham*

Charles Fitzroy, *Esq*; Cor-
net and Master of the
Tennis-Court

Charles Churchill, *Esq*; Col.
of Dragoons, and Gover-
nor of *Plymouth*

Northamptonshire.

Colonel Montague, Colonel
of a Regiment, and Go-
vernor of *Hull*

Northumberland.

Sir William Middleton

William Carr, *Esq*;

* Sir Thomas Robinson

George Liddel, *Esq*;

Nottinghamshire.

Thomas Bennet, *Esq*;

Sir Robert Clifton

John White, *Esq*;

Brigadier Sutton, Governor
of *Guernsey*

James Pelham, *Esq*; Secre-
tary to the Prince, and to
the Lord Chamberlain

Rutlandshire.

William Burton, *Esq*;

Thomas Noel, *Esq*;

Salop.

Henry Arthur Herbert, *Esq*;

Samuel Edwards, *Esq*; Un-
der Teller of the Exche-
quer

Robert Moore, *Esq*;

John Plumtree, *Esq*; Trea-
surer of the Ordnance

Somersetshire.

John Scrope, *Esq*; Secretary
of the Treasury

General Wade, Governor of
Fort William

William Piers, *Esq*;

George Speke, *Esq*;

George Doddington, *Esq*;
Commissioner of the Trea-
sury

Francis Whitworth, *Esq*;
Surveyor of his Majesty's
Woods

Charles Lockyer, *Esq*;

Thomas Medlicot, *Esq*;

Commissioner of the Re-
venues in *Ireland*

Southampton.

Lord Harry Pawlet, Com-
missioner of the Admi-
ralty

Sir John Cope

Norton Pawlet, *Esq*;

George Bridges, *Esq*;

Sir Charles Wager, Commis-
sioner of the Admiralty

Paul Burrard, *Esq*;

Maurice Bockland, *Esq*;

George Huxley, *Esq*; Mu-
ster-master General

* Martin Bladen, *Esq*; Com-
missioner of Trade

Cha.

Cha. Armand Powlett, *Esq*;
Lieut. Colonel of Horse
Grenadiers.

Philip Lloyd, *Esq*; Captain
of Dragoons

Jos. Hinxman, *Esq*; Wood-
ward of New Forest

* John Conduit, *Esq*; Master
of the Mint

John Selwin, *Esq*; Treasurer
to the Queen

James Brudenell, *Esq*; Com-
missioner of Trade, and
Groom of the Bedchamber
Staffordshire.

Richard Plummer, *Esq*;
Suffolk.

William Woollaston, *Esq*;

Sir George Downing
Captain Purvis

— Jackson, *Esq*;

Carteret Leathes, *Esq*;

Colonel Cornwallis

* John Cornwallis, *Esq*; E-
querry to the Prince

Thomas Hervey, *Esq*; E-
querry to his Majesty

Thomas Norton, *Esq*; Lieut.
Gov. of Christ's Hospital
Surrey.

Sir Joseph Eyles

Sir Orlando Bridgman, Com-
missioner of Trade

Sir William Clayton
Colonel Onslow

Henry Vincent, *Esq*;

Paul Docminique, *Esq*;
Commissioner of Trade
Suffex.

* Henry Pelham, *Esq*; Pay-
master of the Army

James Butler, *Esq*;

James Lumley, *Esq*;

Henry Ingram, *Esq*; Com-
missary of the Stores at
Gibraltar

Charles Eversfield, *Esq*;
Sir Richard Mill

Tho. Pelham of Lewes, *Esq*;

Tho. Pelham of Stanmer,
Esq;

John Gould, *Esq*;

James Hoste, *Esq*;

Joseph Danvers, *Esq*;

Thomas Bladen, *Esq*;

Lord Shannon, Captain of a
Troop of Guards

Warwickshire.

Sir Adolphus Oughton

Westmoreland.

Anthony Lowther, *Esq*;

Daniel Wilson, *Esq*;

John Ramsden, *Esq*;

Wiltshire.

Thomas Lewis, *Esq*;

Robert Herbert, *Esq*; Com-
missioner in Ireland

Thomas Martin, *Esq*;

Townshend Andrews, *Esq*;
Deputy Pay-master

Horatio Townshend, *Esq*;

Edward Ashe, *Esq*; Com-
missioner of Trade

William Duckett, *Esq*; Ma-
jor of the Horse Grena-
diers

William Wardour, *Esq*;

Francis Eyles, *Esq*; Captain
in the Army

Gabriel Roberts, *Esq*;

Giles Erle, *Esq*; Clerk of
the Green-cloth

Rawlinson Erle, *Esq*; Clerk
of the Ordnance

Chris. Tilsen, *Esq*; Clerk
of the Treasury

Sir Tho. Read, Clerk of the
Green-cloth

William Sloper, *Esq*; Depu-
ty Cofferer

Matthew St. Quintin, *Esq*;

John St. John, *Esq*;

John

Chelsea

John Crofs, *Esq*;
Thomas Gibson, *Esq*;
Worcestershire.

Sir R. Lane
Thomas Winnington, *Esq*;
Commissioner of the Ad-
miralty

John Rudge, *Esq*;
Crew Offey, *Esq*; Gentle-
man of the Privy-Cham-
ber

Yorkshire.

Sir George Saville
Cholmondeley Turner, *Esq*;
Sir William Milner

Edw. Thompson, *Esq*; Com-
missioner of Victualling
—— Master, *Esq*;

George Crowle, *Esq*; Com-
missioner of Victualling
Richard Arundel, *Esq*; Surv.
General of the Works

William Thompson, *Esq*;
Sir Conyers Darcy, Com-
ptroller of the Household
Colonel Pulteney, Equerry
to the King

James Tyrrel, *Esq*; Colonel
of a Regiment

Geo. Gregory, *Esq*; Store
Keeper of the Ordnance

Henry Finch, *Esq*;

Sir William Wentworth

Sir Tho. Frankland, Com-
missioner of the Admiralty

Charles Stanhope, *Esq*;

William Jessop, *Esq*; Puisne
Judge of Chester

Sir Charles Hotham, Col.
of a Regiment, and Groom
of the Bedchamber

Leonard Smelt, *Esq*; Clerk
of the Ordnance

Henry Pierce, *Esq*;

* Sir William Lowther

Colonel Mordaunt

Cinque Ports.

Thomas Pelham, *Esq*;
Josiah Burchet, *Esq*; Secre-
tary to the Admiralty

William Glanville, *Esq*;

Capt. Hercules Baker

Robert Brisflow, *Esq*; Clerk
of the Green-cloth

Peter Walter, *Esq*;

Sir William Gage

—— Hav, *Esq*;

Wales.

Hugh Williams, *Esq*;

Lord Lisburne

Sir Nicholas Williams

Arthur Bevan, *Esq*;

Capt. John Griffith

Thomas Wynne, *Esq*; Clerk
of the Green-cloth

Salisbury Lloyd, *Esq*;

John Campbell, *Esq*;

William Owen, *Esq*;

Sir Humphry Howarth

Thomas Lewis, *Esq*; Clerk
of the Bills of the Cu-
stoms

Scotland.

Sir James Campbell

Colonel John Campbell

Charles Ereskine, *Esq*; So-
licitor - General for Scot-
land

Alexander Brodie, *Esq*; Lion
King at Arms

Sir James Grant

Colonel J. Scott

Lord Archibald Hamilton,
Commissioner of the Ad-
miralty

Alexander Hamilton, *Esq*;

Robert Douglass, *Esq*;

James Rutherford, *Esq*;

H. Cunningham, *Esq*; Com-
missary of the Musters in
Scotland

Sir J. Ferguson

Colonel

Colonel Middleton
 William Stewart, *Esq*; Pay-
 master of the Pensions
 Colonel Anstruther, Deputy
 Governor of Minorca
 Major Sinclair
 Peter Campbell, *Esq*;
 John Drummond, *Esq*; Com-
 missary for settling Com-
 merce

Duncan Forbes, *Esq*; Advo-
 cate of Scotland
 Daniel Campbell, *Esq*;
 Sir Robert Monro
 Sir J. Nasmith

TELLERS.
 Sir William Yonge
 Sir Thomas Robinson.

On Monday the 18th of March, the House of Com-
 mons came to the following Resolutions, and made the
 following Orders, *viz.*

Resolved, *nem. con.*

That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty,
 to congratulate his Majesty on the happy Nuptials of
 the Princess Royal, and his Highness the Prince of O-
 range.

Order'd,

That the said Address be presented to his Majesty, by
 such Members of this House as are of his Majesty's Most
 Hon. Privy Council.

Resolved, *nem. con.*

That this House do congratulate her Majesty on these
 happy Nuptials.

Order'd,

That the Lord William Manners, Mr. Bromley of Cam-
 bridgeshire, Sir William Yonge, Sir John Rushout, Sir Ed-
 ward Stanley, Mr. Clutterbucke, Sir George Saville, Sir
 William Clayton, Sir John Heathcote, Mr. Lewis of Sober-
 zon, Mr. Duncombe, and Sir James Campbell, do attend her
 Majesty with this Congratulation.

Resolved, *nem. con.*

That a congratulatory Message be sent to the Princess
 Royal and his Highness the Prince of Orange, on this
 happy Occasion.

Order'd, *nem. con.*

That a Bill be brought in for exhibiting a Bill in this
 present Parliament, for naturalizing his Highness the
 Prince of Orange.

The House of Lords came likewise to the same Sort of
 Resolutions with Respect to the Congratulations upon
 this Occasion.

The above-mentioned Bill relating to the Prince of O-
 range was brought in and passed the next Day. It was
 then

then order'd to be carry'd up to the House of Lords, where it was likewise pass'd, and returned back to the Commons on Wednesday the 20th; and on the 21st, his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to it, and the following publick Bills, viz.

An Act for granting and continuing the Duties upon Salt, and Red and White Herrings, for the further Term of seven Years, and for licensing the erecting new Refineries of Rock Salt in the Counties of Essex and Suffolk. And,

An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.

The same Day a Bill was brought down from the Lords, entitl'd, *An Act for naturalizing the Most Serene Prince William Charles Henry Friso, Prince of Orange and Nassau*, which was that Evening three times read by the Commons, and pass'd *Nemine Contradicente*.

On Thursday the 28th of March his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, acquainted the House of Lords, that he had a Message from his Majesty to that House, sign'd by his Majesty, which he presented to that House, and the same being read by the Lord Chancellor was to the Effect as follows, viz.

That as the War which had broke out in Europe, unhappily continued, his Majesty had nothing more at Heart than to see that Flame extinguish'd, and to avoid, if possible, the engaging his Subjects in the Hazards and Expence of a War; being at the same Time desirous, neither to give any just Alarm to other Nations, nor to subject himself to any unprovok'd Insults.

That to the End his Majesty's Endeavours, in Conjunction with his Allies, for procuring an Accommodation, might in due Time have the desir'd Effect; and that his Majesty might be in Condition to make good such Engagements as Honour, Justice and Prudence might call upon him to fulfil and contract; and that his Kingdoms might not be left expos'd to any desperate Attempts, during such Time, as it might be impossible for his Majesty to have the immediate Advice and Assistance of his great Council, upon any Emergency arising from the present Posture of Affairs in Europe, which might nearly concern the Interest and Safety of these Kingdoms; his Majesty hoped that he should be enabled and supported by his Parliament, in making such further Augmentation of his Forces either by Sea or Land, as might be absolutely necessary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms,

doms, and in concerting such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs might require.

That whatever Expence should be thereby occasioned, should be made in as frugal a Manner as was possible, and that an Account thereof should be laid before the next Parliament.

This Message the House Resolved to take into Consideration the next Day, and accordingly the next Day, being *Friday* the 29th, the House proceeded to take the same into Consideration; and the Duke of *Newcastle* stood up and spoke to the Effect as follows, viz.

My Lords,

AS his Majesty has been always careful not to put his People to any greater Expence, than what was absolutely necessary for their own Safety, so in the Beginning of this Session of Parliament, he asked for no greater Augmentation either of Land or Sea Forces than what he thought was necessary for the Defence of this Nation; and after mature Deliberation, his Majesty's Demands upon that Occasion were thought so just and reasonable, that they were agreed to by both Houses of Parliament.

There was then, my Lords, a War broke out in *Europe*, which made it necessary for us to make some little Addition to our Naval Force at home, and to the Garrisons of our fortified Places abroad; but as we did not stand oblig'd by any former Engagement to take any Share in that War, therefore the Expence we have as yet put ourselves to upon that Occasion is but very inconsiderable; and as his Majesty has not yet engaged himself upon either Side of the Question, as there has not since any Alteration happened with respect to the Circumstances of *Great Britain* in particular, so his Majesty does not think it necessary for us to put ourselves immediately to any greater Expence than what was judg'd to be necessary; but as the Fate of War is very uncertain, and as the Liberties of *Europe* very much depend upon the Event of the present War, therefore it is impossible to foresee but that his Majesty may be oblig'd to take some Share in the War, in order to preserve the Ballance of Power, on which depend the Liberties of *Europe*, and consequently the Liberties of this Kingdom.

If then, my Lords, upon any future and sudden Emergency, his Majesty should find himself under a Necessity of immediately joining either one Side or the other, we may most certainly expect, that those he joins against will

will endeavour to insult or invade this Nation, especially if they know that we are no Way prepared for our own Defence: Nay, I do not know but that our continuing neutral may disoblige both Sides; and if either can expect to engage this Nation in their Favour, by producing a Change in our Government, they will probably for that Purpose Attempt to invade us, if they should be encouraged to make such an Attempt by our present Government's not being in a proper Condition to resist them. There is not indeed any Occasion at present to fear such Attempts; there is not the least Appearance that any of the Powers now engaged in War will attempt to offer us any Insult; but as the Politicks and Resolutions of Foreign Courts are not to be depended on, as no Person can pretend to foresee every Thing that may happen, his Majesty is willing to have it in his Power to provide in Time against the worst; and I think we are in Duty bound to enable him so to do; therefore I hope your Lordships will agree to the Motion I am to make, which is, That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, declaring our Duty and Fidelity to him, and the entire Confidence we repose in his Royal Care and Wisdom, and in his Endeavours for the Security of his Kingdoms, and for restoring the Peace of *Europe*; to express the just Sense we have of his Majesty's Attention to the true Interest of his People, in previously taking the Advice of this House, in order to make the necessary Provisions against any Emergencies arising from the present Posture of Affairs in *Europe*, especially during the Interval of Parliament; to desire his Majesty to make such Augmentation of his Forces by Sea or Land, as his Majesty shall judge necessary, and to concert such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs shall require; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will not be wanting in their Duty, in effectually enabling his Majesty to make good all the extraordinary Expence that may be incurred, and to fulfil all the Engagements that may be entered into by his Majesty, for the Honour, Interest and Defence of his Kingdoms.

To which the Lord ~~Carteret~~ replied in the following Words.

My Lords,

AS no Sort of Information has been given to this House about the present State of our foreign Affairs, or about the Engagements we now lie under with respect to all or any of the Powers engaged in War: As every

Thing tending to give us such Information has been denied, it cannot be expected that I, or any other Lord, who has not had the Honour to be admitted into that Secret, should speak so fully to the present Question as we might otherwise have done. As for myself, I think I cannot speak properly to it, in any other Way than as it relates to our own Constitution, and in that Light I cannot but be against it; for it must be admitted, that the Demand now made upon us is a Demand of a very extraordinary Nature; it is such a Demand as ought never to be complied with, but when the Nation is in the most imminent Danger, and even in such a Case, the Reasons for apprehending such a Danger ought to be communicated to this House in a regular Manner, before we can either in Honour or Duty comply with it.

It has always, my Lords, been admitted, that Speeches from the Throne are to be looked on as Speeches from the Ministers of State: Upon this Footing it is that this House has always, with a great deal of Freedom, taken such Speeches under their Consideration; and I must be of Opinion that Messages from his Majesty to this House are to be looked on in the same Manner; for which Reason, I hope, the Duty or the Respect we owe to his Majesty will not be mentioned in the present Debate. No Man can be more ready than I am to grant every Thing to his Majesty that shall appear to be necessary for the Support of his Crown and Dignity; but whatever is to be granted for that Purpose, ought to be granted in a regular Manner, and according to those Methods and Forms which our Ancestors have laid down for the Preservation of our Constitution; and even in that Way, it is inconsistent with the Honour and Dignity of this House to make any such Grant upon a mere Suggestion from the Ministers that it is necessary. No, my Lords, the Reasons, the Causes of that Necessity ought to be laid before the House, and then every Lord in this House may depend upon his own Judgment; whereas he who agrees to such a Grant without any such Information, cannot be said to depend upon his own Judgment, but upon that of the Ministers for the Time being.

I am, my Lords, sincerely of Opinion that the Nation ought to be put in a much better State of Defence: It is what ought to have been done before now; but why was not this proposed at the Beginning of the Session? Is there any Thing has happened since that Time which

can alter any Man's Opinion in this Respect, or can make him believe that it is now become more necessary than it was at that Time? If any such Proposition had then been made, both Houses of Parliament would have had Time to have taken the State of the Nation, with respect both to our foreign and domestick Affairs, into their Consideration, and might easily have provided in a regular and usual Manner for putting the Nation into a proper State of Defence; but the neglecting to make any such Proposition at that Time, and the bringing it in now by Way of Surprise upon us, when it cannot be so much as pretended that we have any Thing now to apprehend which we ought not then to have apprehended, really seems as if some Gentlemen were afraid lest we should resolve to examine narrowly into the present State and Condition of our Affairs; and this, I think ought to be a Reason rather for our refusing than for our agreeing to any such irregular and precipitate Resolution as is now proposed to us,

But, my Lords, suppose that it was not then necessary to put the Nation into a better State of Defence than what was at that Time proposed; suppose that it is not even now necessary to make any new Addition to our Forces, either by Sea or Land, but that the same may become necessary in a little Time; why may we not provide for such an Accident, according to the regular Course of proceeding in Parliament? What Necessity is there for putting so speedy an End to this Session of Parliament? Why may we not take Time to bring in a Bill for doing whatever shall appear to be necessary for providing against any such Emergency? By such a Method of proceeding, both Houses will have Time to call for and examine such Things as may be necessary for giving them an Insight into our Circumstances both abroad and at home: And if from such an Enquiry it shall appear absolutely necessary to give his Majesty the ample and unlimited Power now demanded, is it to be supposed that any Lord in this House, or any Member of the other, will be more averse to the granting of such a Power, when the Necessity for doing so is made appear to him, than he was before that Necessity was made apparent, or indeed any the least Reason for it assigned?

I will grant, my Lords, that the Fate of War is uncertain; I will likewise grant, that the Event of the present War is of the utmost Consequence to the Liberties of Europe, and consequently to this Nation: But his Majesty

Majesty has told us, that he is not engaged as yet to take any Share in the War: Suppose then that this Parliament were dissolved, and a new one summoned; that new Parliament may meet in two Months Time, and in that Time it is impossible that any Emergency can happen of such Consequence as to oblige his Majesty immediately to join either of the Parties now engaged in War. The Ballance of Power in *Europe* may be overturned, but it cannot be so suddenly overturned as not to give his Majesty an Opportunity of having the Advice and Assistance of a new Parliament, before he declares himself of either Side of the Question: In which Case that new Parliament may, and certainly will provide both for the Safety and Honour of this Nation, in that proper and regular Method which ought to be observed by every Parliament.

The Safety and Defence of the Nation is always to be provided for; but as there is at present no Necessity for doing it in any extraordinary Manner, do not, my Lords, let us do it in the unprecedented Manner now proposed. Our agreeing to this Proposition, would, in my Opinion, my Lords, be a most certain Prelude to Slavery: 'Twould be a giving up of all our Liberties at once; 'twould be a putting an absolute Power into the Hands of the Crown, to continue till next Session of Parliament, which would be a most dangerous Precedent; for as such are generally improved, it may soon after be granted for a longer Term, and so may at last be made perpetual. I call it, my Lords, an absolute Power, because we not only give a Power of raising Forces both by Sea and Land, without Limitation, but we give an unlimited Credit for borrowing Money, and we promise to make good whatever shall be so borrowed. I hope your Lordships will consider, That the Liberties of this Nation do not so much depend upon our Charters or our Statute Books, as upon that of the People's keeping the Purse in their own Hands; and if once the People should be brought into the Way of giving anticipated Promises, they may at last be induced to give the Purse entirely out of their Hands, which would put an End to all our Liberties at once.

It has always been reckoned, my Lords, one of the chief Safeguards of our Constitution, that the King cannot raise and keep up a Standing Army in Time of Peace, without the Consent of Parliament; but if the Parliament should once come into the Way of granting, from
Time

Time to Time, an unlimited Power to raise and keep up what Number of Forces, by Sea or Land, the Ministers for the Time being may think proper, I would be glad to know of what Use this Limitation upon the Crown can be of, with respect to our Constitution? And if by Means of such a Power our Constitution should ever be overturned, would not the Parliament which had granted it be justly deemed the Betrayers of those who had trusted their All to them? We have not, thank God, my Lords, any Thing to fear from any Power that may be granted to his present Majesty; but if such a Precedent should be made, and in any future Reign a Set of Men should be at the Head of the Administration; who had disobliged the whole Nation, who had Reason to fear that such a new Parliament would be chosen as would call them to an Account; would not they, in Pursuance of this Precedent, endeavour to get such a Power as this from the last Session of the expiring Parliament? They would then let the new Elections go on, they would use all Means and Methods to corrupt and influence them; but if after all they should see such a new Parliament chosen as would call them to an Account, and punish them for their Wickedness, what then can we suppose they would do? Would not they make Use of the Power so treacherously granted to them, and raise such an Army as might enable them to govern without any Parliament at all? So that I must look upon the Proposition now before us, as laying a Foundation for some future Administration to trample upon our Constitution by the Power of an Army, whenever they shall find they cannot trample upon it by the Power of Bribery and Corruption.

Besides, my Lords, I do not think that what is now proposed is legal: I do not really think that any Thing can be legally done in Pursuance of it, if it should be agreed to; for it is certain that no Forces can be raised or kept up in this Nation in Time of Peace, but by Consent of Parliament; and the only proper Way of obtaining that Consent always was supposed to be by Act of Parliament. We have already, my Lords, passed the Mutiny Bill; and if any new Forces should be raised in Pursuance of this Resolution, I do not know if they could be comprehended under that Law; for as a certain Number is thereby limited, if any more should be raised, I doubt much if they could, without a new Act of Parliament, be subjected to the Martial Law.

I have

I have said, my Lords, that the Proposition now before us, is a most unprecedented Method of providing for the Defence of the Nation : It is so ; it is a Method which was never before practised. In all former Times, when this Nation has been threatened with any great and imminent Danger, which made it necessary that some extraordinary Steps should be taken, if it happened in Time of Parliament, the King always came or sent to Parliament, and not only told us we were in Danger, but how we were in Danger, that from thence we might judge whether the Danger was so imminent as to make some extraordinary Steps necessary ; and when it was judged so, proper Measures have always thereupon been immediately concerted for obviating that Danger ; but now it seems, my Lords, we are to agree to a most extraordinary Measure, without any Reason assigned, without so much as a Pretence that we are in any imminent Danger ; nay, we are even told that we are not in any imminent Danger ; we are told that we are not at present in Danger of any Insults or Invasions from abroad, and I am sure we are not in Danger of any Insurrections at home, unless they should be occasioned by our agreeing to this Proposition : Therefore, my Lords, as no Reason has been assigned, as I see no Reason for our coming into any extraordinary Measure at present, I cannot but be against the Motion.

We are obliged to break off the Debates for want of Room in this Register ; but in our next shall finish the Proceedings of the last Parliament, and give such other remarkable Transactions as shall happen before that Time.

F I N I S.

T H E
Historical Register.

N U M B E R LXXVIII.

G R E A T B R I T A I N.

*Continuation of the Debates and Proceedings of the Seventh
Session of the last Parliament.*



WANT of Room obliged us to end our last Number with Lord C——'s Speech on his Majesty's Message to the House of Lords, by the Duke of N——le, and his Grace's Motion for an humble Address to his Majesty thereupon; but as nothing can be of much greater Concern to this Kingdom, than the Subject of that Message, we shall now pursue the Debates on it, in which the Duke of A——le spoke next after Lord C——t.

Duke of A——le.

My Lords,

I Have consider'd the Message now before us with all possible Attention, and I cannot see that there is any Thing in it, or in the Motion the noble Duke has been pleas'd to make us, so very extraordinary or unprecedented as the noble Lord has been pleas'd to represent. It is certain that such Messages have been several Times sent to Parliament, and it is likewise certain, that such Returns have always been made to them as the noble Duke has now been pleas'd to move for, upon Occasion of the present Message. It is true, that such Messages have never been sent but upon extraordinary Occasions, and the Reasons for sending them have always been communicated to Parliament; and is not this the very Case

L at

at present ? What more extraordinary Occasion can be supposed ? The noble Lord who spoke last admits, that the Liberties of *Europe* are deeply concern'd in the Fate of the present War, and may be swallow'd up by the Event ; and can we imagine that the Liberties of this Nation are secure, when the Liberties of *Europe* are in Danger ?

It must therefore be allow'd, *my Lords*, that the Occasion of this Message is of the utmost Consequence ; and the Reasons for our being necessarily obliged to come to some immediate Resolution, are not only in themselves apparent, but are likewise fully expressed in his Majesty's Message. The Fortune of War we all know to be extremely precarious, and the Changes that happen are often as sudden as they are unlook'd for : Some of these may lay his Majesty under an indispensable Necessity of sending immediate Assistance to the unfortunate Side, in which Case we may depend upon it, that some desperate Attempts will be made on this Nation, by the other Side now engaged in the War : Our Neighbours have now great Armies in the Field, and some of them have powerful Fleets ready to put to Sea : They are already prepared to execute any Attempt, and when they are in such Circumstances, we may depend on it, that the Resolution, as soon as taken, will be carry'd into Execution. We all know that this Parliament must be soon dissolved, and after it is dissolved, many Weeks must intervene before a new Parliament can assemble. In the mean Time, his Majesty may be obliged to declare himself, and upon that, some Attempts may be made, which may be of the most dangerous Consequence to the Safety of this Nation, before his Majesty can have the Advice and Assistance of a new Parliament, which makes it absolutely necessary for us, before we now separate, to give his Majesty a Power to provide against the worst.

I will agree with the noble Lord who spoke last, that all Messages from the King, as well as Speeches from the Throne, when they come to be considered in this House, are to be look'd on as coming from the Ministers ; therefore we may, with all imaginable Freedom, consider them, and whatever may be said upon that Occasion, is always to be presumed to relate only to the Ministers, and not to the Crown ; for which Reason, our Duty and Respect to his Majesty, is never, upon such Occasions, to be brought any Way into the Question. But as to the Message now before us, *my Lords*, it is so far from being

being an extraordinary one, that I must look upon it rather as a Piece of Condescension in the Crown; for it is certain, that upon any sudden Emergency, his Majesty has a Power, which always has been, and always must be vested in the Crown, to provide for the Security of his Crown and Kingdoms, by raising Forces either for Land or Sea-Service, and borrowing or applying Money for that Purpose, even without waiting for the Consent of Parliament; and whatever the King may, upon such Occasions be obliged to do, will always be approv'd of, and provided for by Parliament, as soon as they meet, in Case nothing has been done, nor any Expences incurred, but what shall appear to be necessary; this is the Power his Majesty has by our Constitution, and this is all he asks for by the present Message: He asks only for a Power to make such further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may be absolutely necessary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms.

This, in my Opinion, *my Lords*, is as modest a Demand, as ever was sent to Parliament: It shews how cautious his Majesty is of putting his People to any extraordinary Expence; considering the present Posture of the Affairs of *Europe*, I believe this House would have thought it but reasonable, if his Majesty, at the Beginning of the Session, had asked for a much greater Augmentation of his Forces, both by Sea and Land, than he did at that Time: Nay, if his Majesty had now asked for an immediate Augmentation, instead of asking only for a Power to make it, in Case it shall hereafter appear to be absolutely necessary, I do not doubt, but your Lordships would have comply'd with it; but his Majesty, desirous not to put his People to any Expence, or at least to delay it as long as he can, and yet solicitous about the Quiet and Safety of his People, desires only the latter; and that Power he applies for to Parliament, tho' he knows it to be vested in him without any such Application. This is the Light which the present Message ought to be consider'd in, and therefore, whether we should grant such a Power as is now asked for, cannot, I think, be properly made a Question.

Indeed, if the Ministers should make a bad Use of the Power now proposed to be granted to his Majesty, if they should augment the Forces, either by Sea or Land, without any Necessity for so doing; if they should put the Nation to any greater Expence, than what shall appear to be absolutely necessary, there would then be

some Ground for a Question ; but in such a Case, can the present Message, or the Address proposed in Answer to the Message, be of any Weight on either Side of that Question ? Can the Ministers plead in their Justification, that they had a Power from Parliament to do so ? It is certain they cannot : They must answer for what they have done, in the same Manner as if no such Address had ever been proposed. For my own Part, *my Lords*, I am no Minister, I never was, nor ever will be a Minister, but on all such Occasions as the present, I must think they have a most dangerous Task : The Danger of not providing in Time for the Safety and Defence of the Nation, and the Danger of running the Nation into Expences, which may thereafter be thought unnecessary, are two opposite Rocks, which even the wisest Ministers ought to be afraid of : They will always find it difficult for them to steer the middle Course, so as to avoid both the Extrems : And we must conclude it to be the more difficult, when we consider, that to the Bulk of Mankind, Dangers seem huge in their Approach, but diminish vastly in their Retreat.

I am persuaded none of your Lordships are afraid ; I cannot, indeed, see the least Reason why any Man should at present entertain any Fears about the Liberties of his Country, I am sure there is no Ground for such Fears. If any Encroachments have been lately made by the Crown, or by the Ministers of the Crown, on the Rights and Liberties of the People, we would have Reason to be jealous of every Proposition that came from that Quarter ; but there has been no such Attempt lately made ; and I believe there never was a Time, when private Men enjoy'd their Property with more Ease and Security ; therefore I can see no Reason for us to take the Alarm ; and the present Message is so far from affording any Foundation for an Alarm, that I must look upon it as one of the greatest Pieces of Condescension that was ever made by any King to his Parliament. As for the Clamours that may have been lately raised against the Ministers of State, if ever there were any such, they ought to be despised, because they were without any just Cause, and were very far from being general. There have been some Clamours against all Ministers, and against all future Ministers we may expect there will be Clamours raised : Even in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* ; in that Reign, which has been so much applauded by those who had a Mind to reflect upon the present ;

present, there were Clamours among some Sorts of People during her whole Reign: Even that great Minister *Burleigh*, who with so great Wisdom and Moderation, and for so many Years, during her Reign, managed the publick Affairs of this Nation, could not escape: Nay, there were not only Clamours and Discontents in that Queen's Reign, but there were many Plots too, and even some Rebellions raised against her; therefore we are not immediately to conclude, that Ministers are guilty, because there have been some little Clamours and Calumnies raised against them.

'Tis true, *my Lords*, we have already passed the Mutiny Bill, and in that Bill I must likewise grant, that a certain Number of Land-Forces is mentioned; but, in my Opinion, the Mutiny-Bill always did, and now does extend, not only to the Number of Forces therein mentioned, but to all the Land-Forces that should be raised within that Year: However, I am no Lawyer, tho' I am in the Neighbourhood of a very good one, to whom I shall leave the Determination of this Point, and I hope he will be so good as to rise up and give the House his Opinion upon it.

Earl of C——ld.

My Lords,

NOTwithstanding what the noble Duke who spoke last has been pleased to say in Favour of the Message now under our Consideration, it still appears to me to be the most extraordinary that ever was sent to this House. I believe no Man will doubt of my Affection to his Majesty, or of my Readiness to agree to every Thing I think absolutely necessary for the Support of his Crown and Dignity; but as all such Messages are presumed to be framed by the Advice, and upon a Suggestion of those in the Administration, therefore I, and every other Lord of this House, not only have a Right, but we are in Duty bound to examine them narrowly; and from thence if it appears that what is demanded by such a Message is not at all necessary for the Support of his Majesty, or the Safety of the Nation, tho' it may be necessary for the Support of Ministerial Schemes, and perhaps for the Safety of Ministerial Personages, we are both in Duty and Honour obliged not to comply with such a Demand, especially if it appears to be inconsistent with the Constitution, or contrary to the usual Form of Proceeding in Parliament, which is plainly the Case

Case with respect to the Demand now made upon us ; for it must certainly be allow'd to be contrary to the usual Form of proceeding in Parliament ; and as it vests an absolute Power in the Crown, for as long a Time as the Crown, or rather the Minist'rs of the Crown, may please to continue it, I cannot think it consistent with the Constitution of our Government : I must think it the most extraordinary Demand that was ever made upon any Parliament in this Kingdom ; and it is the more extraordinary, that it comes now at the End of a long Parliament : It really appears to me in the same Light, as if an Application should be made to a Man on his Death, to bequeath all he has in the World to those who are utter Strangers to him ; nay, to those who have been generally reputed his greatest Enemies.

I cannot agree with the noble Duke that such Messages have been frequent : It is certain they were never heard of 'till of late Years ; I doubt if such an unlimited Power was ever before asked for ; I am sure such a Power was never asked for, but when the Nation was in imminent as well as great Danger ; for to tell us that the Liberties of *Europe* may be swallow'd up by the present War, and that therefore this Nation is in great Danger, is no Excuse for our breaking thro' all the Forms and Methods of proceeding in Parliament, by agreeing to the extraordinary Step now propos'd. I cannot think that the Liberties of *Europe* are in so great Danger of being swallow'd up in the Event of the present War, as some People seem willing we should believe ; but granting they were, it is but a consequential Danger to this Nation ; and to excuse such an extraordinary Step, the Danger ought not only to be great, but it ought to be imminent ; I do not think that any Thing ought to force us to take such a Step, but when we are in immediate Danger of a powerful Invasion from abroad, or of a very terrible Insurrection at home. With respect to all other Dangers, we may deliberately provide against them, according to the usual Methods of proceeding in Parliament ; and if Precedents should be searched into, I believe it will appear, that no such Message as the present was ever sent to Parliament, but when we had good Reason to apprehend one of the two immediate Dangers I have mention'd.

Now, *my Lords*, in the present Case it is not so much as pretended that we are in any imminent Danger ; on the contrary we are told, that no material Alteration has happen'd

happen'd since the Beginning of the Session; therefore, if we are now in any imminent Danger, we were in the same State at the Beginning of the Session; and if we were so at that Time, why were we not then made acquainted with it? If we had then been made acquainted with it, we might have long before now taken the Circumstances of the Nation into our Consideration, and might have sufficiently provided against the greatest Danger that can be supposed in a regular Parliamentary Way: But suppose, *my Lords*, some considerable Alterations have happen'd since the Beginning of the Session, which this House cannot, I think, pretend either to affirm or deny, because we have been kept in utter Darkness with Respect to the Situation of our foreign Affairs; suppose some new Dangers are now to be apprehended, which could not be thought of or foreseen at the Beginning of the Session, what Necessity is there for providing against them in a Manner so inconsistent with our Constitution? Are they so imminent that we have Reason to apprehend their coming upon us in a few Days? It is impossible to suppose any such; and if no such Dangers can be supposed, what Reason have we to break through all the Forms of Parliament? Is there any Necessity for putting an immediate End to the present Session of Parliament? No, by the *Septennial Law* this Parliament may continue sitting 'till the Month of *September* or *October* next; before that Time, the Dangers we are now threaten'd with may blow over; or if they should approach nearer, we may provide against them in that Manner, and according to those Forms which the Wisdom of our Ancestors has contriv'd for the Preservation of our Liberties.

We are told our Neighbours are at War, they have great Armies in the Field, and powerful Fleets ready to put to Sea: What is all this, *my Lords*, to us? Does not this add to the Security of this Nation, instead of subjecting us to any Danger? If we are no Way engaged in the War (and we are told we are not) if we have done nothing to give any just Alarm, is it to be supposed that any one of the Powers upon the Continent, while it is engaged in a dangerous and a heavy War with another Power, will do any Thing, or attempt any Thing that may in the least tend to draw the immediate Vengeance of this Nation upon its Head. Is it possible to imagine any Nation upon Earth so weak, or rather so mad in their Politicks? I have not, 'tis true, the Honour to have been made acquainted with the several Engagements

ments we may be under at present to foreign Powers ; but if I can judge from such of them as have been made publick ; if I can draw any Conclusion from the many Treaties and Alliances lately made, I must conclude, that at present we are in good Terms with all the Powers in *Europe* at least, therefore I must conclude we cannot be in any Danger from any of them ; and I hope no Danger we may have to fear from any other Quarter of the World, can be of Weight enough to prevail with this House to agree to such an extraordinary Measure.

I shall grant, *my Lords*, that we might, perhaps, have offended the Imperial Court, by the Treaty made at *Hanover* with the *French* ; but surely we have made up that Breach by our late Treaty of *Vienna*, by which we generously, and without the least valuable Consideration, became Guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction. As to *France*, we have of late Years heaped so many Favours upon that Nation, that I cannot think they have any Reason, or indeed any Inclination to do us an Injury : Did not we by the Treaty of *Hanover*, which was made for pulling down the overgrown Power of the House of *Austria*, and the following Treaty of *Seville*, break that close Union which had been contracted between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, so much to the Prejudice of the Court of *France* ? And did not we thereby oblige *Spain* to throw herself entirely into the Arms of *France*, by which we again united the two great Branches of the House of *Bourbon* ? And can we imagine that *France* will disturb us, while she is making the best of that Union which we were so good as to restore ? And as to *Spain*, we did perhaps disoblige them likewise by our Treaty of *Hanover*, and some other Measures which were the Effects of that Treaty ; but have we not since procured them the rich Dutchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, for their Son *Don Carlos* ? Did not we, at a great Expence to this Nation, send a powerful Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, to conduct that Prince with the greater Pomp and Ceremony to the Dominions we had procured for him in *Italy* ? 'Tis true, he did not make Use of that Fleet, but was that any Fault of ours, or can it be said we had any selfish View in what we did, since the whole was transacted without any Stipulation in our own Favour ? By this we open'd a Way for the *Spaniards* into *Italy* ; nay, I do not know but that by our Management we have likewise thrown the King of *Sardinia* into the Arms of *France*, and have thereby opened

opened a Way for the *French* likewise into *Italy*. Besides all these Favours heaped upon our Neighbours, have not we, by the most full and explicit Treaties and Stipulations, secured all our Rights and Possessions both abroad and at home; and in such Circumstances, after so many glorious Treaties, can it be imagined that we are in Danger of being invaded or insulted by any of our Neighbours?

This, *my Lords*, I take to be the Case as to our past Management; but it is said, the present War may take such a Turn as may lay his Majesty under a Necessity of sending immediate Assistance to the unfortunate Side, in order to prevent the Balance of Power in *Europe* from being quite overturn'd. This is a Supposition which really to me seems as extraordinary as the Message now under our Consideration. I will readily allow, that the Fate of War is precarious; but I cannot easily admit that a whole Campaign, even the most unfortunate that can be supposed, can make the Emperor absolute Master of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, or can make *France* absolute Master of the whole *German Empire*; for we know that *France* has stood out many unfortunate Campaigns against the united Powers of *Germany*, *England*, *Holland*, *Portugal* and *Sardinia*; and though *Spain* and *Sardinia* now make Use of *France* to enlarge their Dominions in *Italy*, yet if *France* shew'd the least Inclination to make a Conquest of *Germany*, they would both turn their Arms against her, because they must preserve *Germany*, in Order to preserve their own Dominions in *Italy*, or indeed in any Part of the World. The Circumstances of *Europe* are now very far from being the same they were at the Beginning of the late War; the King of *France* was then absolute Master of *Spain*, and could make that Nation do whatever he had a Mind; but now *France* must act very cautiously, in order not to give that Nation any Jealousy of her aiming at too great an Increase of Power, otherwise the *Spaniards* may soon become as deadly Foes to the *French*, as ever they were heretofore: I must therefore think, *my Lords*, that the Liberties of *Europe* are not in such Danger of being swallow'd up in the Event of the present War; but if they were, they cannot be swallow'd up so soon, even by the most sudden and most fatal Accident, but what his Majesty may have Time enough to apply in a regular Manner to his Parliament for Advice and Assistance, before he can be under a Necessity for declaring himself on either Side of the Question.

M

But,

But, *my Lords*, we are told that this Parliament must be dissolved ; and before a new one can meet, his Majesty may be obliged to declare himself, or at least that some of the Powers engaged in War may become jealous that he is to declare against them, and consequently may attempt to invade this Nation before his Majesty can have the Assistance of a new Parliament, to enable him to provide against such Invasion.

This is an Argument I am sorry to hear made Use of in this House, and I am persuaded the noble Lords who make Use of it, do not mean such a Conclusion as seems naturally to flow from it ; for, in my Opinion, it plainly seems to carry this Insinuation, that the granting of such a Power at the End of every Parliament, will be always necessary hereafter. If that were really the Case, I should be very apt to conclude, that the Power would then be made Use of, not to defend the Nation against foreign Invasions, but to defend the Ministers against the Danger they might have Reason to apprehend from an anti-ministerial Parliament, in Case the new one should appear to be of such a Complexion ; and I am very sure, that a Minister with such a Power in his Hands, and such a Parliament against him, would never allow that Parliament to meet.

We are now told, as I have already taken Notice, that our Neighbours are deeply engaged in War one against another, that they have great Armies in the Field, and powerful Fleets ready to put to Sea ; that they may conceive a Jealousy that we are to join against them, and may consequently invade us before the King can have the Assistance of a new Parliament, to enable him to provide against that Invasion ; therefore, before we draw our last Breath, we must, it is said, for our own Safety, put an absolute Power into the Hands of the Crown, to continue 'till the Ministers shall think fit to convene the new Parliament. At the End of the next Parliament there may, *my Lords*, be the same Reason for granting the same Power, and the Reason will be much stronger, if we are then actually engaged in the War : But suppose there is then a profound Tranquillity in *Europe*, our Neighbours very probably will have very near as great Armies and as powerful Fleets as they have now ; and may we not then be told, your Neighbours are now no Way engaged elsewhere, their Armies are quarter'd very near the Sea-Coast, their Fleets may be made ready to put to Sea in a Month's Time, they may
conceive

conceive a Jealousy that you are to invade them, and therefore they will endeavour to invade you ; for this Reason it is necessary for you to put an absolute Power into the Hands of the Crown ? Will not this Argument be then stronger than the Argument now made Use of ? It will, *my Lords*, in my Opinion, be much stronger : We are certainly in greater Danger of being suddenly invaded by our Neighbours, when they have their Troops unemploy'd, and quarter'd upon their Sea Coasts, than when all their Troops are marched many hundred Miles from their Sea Coast, and employ'd against another Enemy ; and surely they may more suddenly fit out a Fleet proper for that Purpose, when none of their Ships of War are employ'd elsewhere, than when they are obliged to keep many of them in Seas very far distant from this Island.

The Dictatorial Power was, *my Lords*, a Part of the Roman Constitution, even from the very Beginning of their Republick ; but while they preserved their Virtue, while they preserved their Liberty, this Power was never granted but upon the most important the most urgent Occasions, and was never granted for a longer Term than six Months ; when the Virtue and the publick Spirit of that once brave People began to decay, this Power was often granted upon trifling Occasions ; it then began to be granted for a long Term, and soon after was granted for Life : With this last Grant, they granted away all the Liberties of their Country for ever : The Dictator might die, but the Power was handed down immediately to another ; the Tyranny became perpetual. The Power now asked for, is in some Measure a Dictatorial Power, it has but of late Years crept into our Constitution, it was never yet granted but upon the most urgent Occasions ; but if we once begin to grant it for a Time indefinite, and upon such Suppositions and May-be's, I can easily foresee what will be : It will at last, nay, it will soon be either granted or taken for Life, and then adieu for ever to the Liberties of *Great Britain*.

I will allow, that by our Constitution our Kings have always had, during the Interval of Parliament, a Sort of Dictatorial Power, a Power to take Care that the Commonwealth may be no Way injured ; and therefore, in Case of any sudden and unexpected Danger, the King may raise Forces, or may fit out a Fleet, for preventing that Danger ; and where the Danger is apparent, it is certain the King never did, nor ever will want Money as

long as there is any in the Nation ; for upon such an Occasion no Man will refuse to lend his Money to the Government ; and the Parliament will certainly approve of what has been done, and provide for the Re-payment of what has been borrow'd, providing it be made appear to them that there was a Necessity for putting the Nation to that Expence ; but the asking for such a Power beforehand, looks as if something were intended which could not well be approv'd of : It looks as if the Nation were to be put to an additional Expence, without any apparent Reason for so doing, and as if this anticipated Credit were asked for from Parliament, in order to encourage People to lend their Money to the Publick, though they see no Necessity for any such publick Expence. No Man will refuse to let an Infant of a good Estate have whatever may be necessary for his Subsistence ; for this he has no great Occasion for any Letter of Credit from his Guardians ; but if his Guardians should be such Fools, or rather such unfaithful Guardians, as to give him an unlimited Letter of Credit, for borrowing whatever he himself might think necessary for his Subsistence, it would certainly tend to throw him into Extravagance, and might make him a Prey for Usurers and Extortioners.

I am very well convinced, *my Lords*, that the Safety of the People will not be any Way better secured by the Resolution now proposed ; but I am very far from thinking that the Power of the Crown will be no Way enlarged ; if it were really thought so, I am sure no Minister would ever give himself the Trouble of persuading the King to send such a Message to Parliament ; but suppose I were convinced that no additional Power is by this Proposition to be granted to the King ; that very Consideration would with me be a most prevailing Argument for being against it ; for it must be allow'd that what is now proposed is something very extraordinary, and contrary to all those Forms and Methods of proceeding in Parliament, which long Experience has taught us to be necessary for the Preservation of our Liberties ; why then should we make so great an Encroachment upon our Constitution, if neither the Safety of the People, nor the Security of the Crown be thereby any Way improved ? This Reason, I say, *my Lords*, if there were no other, would prevail with me to be against agreeing to the Proposition now before us ; but as I think it of the most dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of the People, as I think that a Power is thereby to be granted to
the

the Crown, which ought never to be granted but in Cases of the utmost, the most imminent Danger, therefore I shall most heartily give my Negative to it.

Lord H——ck.

My Lords,

I Think it is now admitted by both Sides, that during the Interval of Parliament his Majesty has by Law, and without any previous Authority from Parliament, a Power to provide for the Safety of the Kingdom, and consequently he must have a Power of doing whatever shall appear to be necessary for that End ; therefore I hope it will be no longer insisted on, that there is any Thing very extraordinary either in the Message now under our Consideration, or in the Proposition that has been made to us in Consequence of it. His Majesty only asks for a previous Authority for doing what he certainly might do without any such Authority ; and we, by the Address proposed to us, only promise to support his Majesty in what shall appear to be necessary for the Safety of the Nation, and for the Support of his Crown and Dignity. If the Nation should be unnecessarily put to Expence, if any extraordinary Measures should be pursued, without a Necessity for so doing, the Ministers will be answerable for it, and may be punish'd in the same Manner as if no such Address had ever been proposed ; and as there is no extraordinary Power asked for, or proposed to be granted, the Method of doing it cannot be of any Weight in the Debate, nor can it be attended with any ill Consequence.

As to the giving his Majesty a Power by an Address, or a Vote, to raise Land Forces, there is certainly nothing illegal in it ; for though the King cannot by Law raise or keep up a Standing Army in this Nation in Time of Peace without Consent of Parliament ; yet, *my Lords*, I know of no Law that directs how that Consent is to be obtained ; it may, in my Opinion, be had by a Vote, or an Address from each House of Parliament, as well as by an Act regularly passed in Parliament. And as to the Mutiny Bill which we have already passed, it is the same with former Bills of the like Nature, though there be a particular Number of Land Forces mention'd in the Preamble ; yet the enacting Part is general, and comprehends all the Regular Forces that then were on Foot, or that shall be raised in this Kingdom during the Continuance of that Act.

Therefore,

Therefore, *my Lords*, as there is nothing illegal or extraordinary in the Message, or in the Proposition now under our Consideration; as from the present known Circumstances of *Europe*, some Accidents may happen that may put this Nation under a Necessity of making a further Provision for Self-defence; and as those Accidents may fall out so suddenly and so unexpectedly, that there may not be a Possibility for his Majesty to have Time to take the Advice and Assistance of a new Parliament, I cannot but be for agreeing to the Proposition now made to us.

Lord B———*ft.*

My Lords,

I Have a very great Regard for the Opinion of the noble Lord who spoke last, especially in so far as relates to the Laws and the Constitution of this Kingdom; and therefore I am the more surpris'd to hear him declare, that he knows of no Law which determines and directs the Method by which his Majesty is to have the Consent of his Parliament. I will not pretend to be so well acquainted with the Laws or the Statutes of this Realm as that learned Lord; but I am sure there is a Law which determines the Method by which his Majesty is to have the Consent of Parliament, as well with respect to the raising and keeping up a Standing Army in Time of Peace, as with Respect to every other Case where the Consent of Parliament is necessary by our Constitution: I mean, *my Lords*, the *Lex & Consuetudo Parliamenti*, which I look upon to be as much a Part of the Laws of *England* as any other Part of the Common Law, nay, as any Statute expressly enacted by King, Lords, and Commons. 'Tis true, *my Lords*, there is not I believe, any express Statute for directing the Method of obtaining the Consent in Question; but there is never an express Statute made in any Case, but where the Common Law is either doubtful or deficient; and as this Part of the Common Law, as this Custom of Parliament was never before called in Question, it was never thought necessary to make any express Statute for regulating the Method of obtaining the Consent of Parliament; but in this Age we seem inclined to call in Question every Custom and every Maxim established by our Ancestors, especially when it interferes with any favourite Point our Ministers have in View.

I hope

I hope, *my Lords*, it will be allow'd, that no Tax can be imposed or levy'd upon the People, but by Consent of Parliament : This, I hope will be allow'd to be one of the fundamental Maxims of our Constitution, the Meaning of this Maxim I always took to be, that no Tax could be raised but by Act of Parliament ; but as there is no express Statute for regulating the Method of obtaining the Consent of Parliament in this Particular, I do not know but it may now be said, that Taxes may be imposed, or the King may be enabled to impose a Tax by a Vote, or by an Address from both Houses of Parliament : I am sure it may be said, that this Method of obtaining the Consent of Parliament is as sufficient for the raising of Money as it is for the raising of an Army : Indeed, if we agree to the Proposition now before us, it will seem to insinuate as much ; for tho' we do not thereby expressly empower his Majesty to impose a Tax, yet we are to empower him to borrow Money, for the Repayment of which, some Tax or another must be imposed next Session of Parliament ; and I do not know but the Gradation will be found more easy than some People at present seem to apprehend ; for us to proceed from empowering the Crown, by Way of a Vote or an Address, to raise Money by a Loan, to that of empowering the Crown by Way of a Vote or Address, to raise Money by any Tax the Crown shall think fit to impose.

As to the Mutiny Bill, *my Lords*, I really did not take particular Notice of the Bill last passed in this House : That Bill is now become so much a Bill of course, that I never once doubted of its being in the same Words with other Bills of that Nature formerly passed in Parliament, and therefore I did not read it with that Attention which I ought to have done ; but I am sure that in some former Bills of the same Nature, the Number of Forces to be kept up was mentioned to be so many, and *No more* : Whether the Words *No more* be in the last Bill, I cannot determine ; but grant they are not, I am persuaded some Lord of this House, or some Member of the other, would have taken Notice of their having been left out, if it had not been thought that they must necessarily be understood : And I think every Man has good Reason to suppose, that no greater Number of the Subjects of *England* can be subjected to the Martial Law than the Number mention'd in that Bill, whether the Words *No more* be added or not. It is certain,

tain, that no Part of the Common Law, much less *Magna Charta*, or any other other express Statute, can be repealed but by Act of Parliament: I hope it will not be said that any one of the standing Laws of *England* can be repealed by a Vote or an Address from both Houses of Parliament, tho' I do not know, indeed, but even this Doctrine may hereafter be insisted on as a natural Consequence of the Doctrine this Day advanced in this House.

However, *my Lords*, I hope we will not this Day advance so far in our new Improvements; and therefore it must be allow'd, that no private Man can be stripp'd of those Liberties and Privileges which he enjoys by *Magna Charta*, and many other express Statutes, without a new Law made for that Purpose; and I hope it will be granted, that whatever general Words are in any Statute, which are or may seem to be contrary to the Liberty of the Subject, are always to be taken in the most confined Sense; they cannot be so much as explain'd, much less extended, by a Vote, or by an Address, of either or of both Houses of Parliament. It will likewise, I hope, be granted, that all those who are by the Mutiny Bill subjected to the Martial Law, are thereby stripp'd of a great many of those Liberties and Privileges which they are entitled to as Subjects of *England*; and therefore, if there are any general Words in that Bill, for subjecting all those to the Martial Law, who shall thereafter enlist in his Majesty's Service; these general Words must refer to the particular Number of Men mention'd in the Bill, and when that Number is compleat, no Man that lists thereafter can be subjected to the Martial Law either by a Vote or an Address; there must be a new Bill for that Purpose, otherwise there is not a Man in the Kingdom but may be stripp'd of most of the valuable Privileges he enjoys as a Subject of *England*, by a single Vote in Parliament; for if we can by a Vote or an Address, empower his Majesty to raise as many Land Forces as he pleases, and subject all the Forces so raised to the Military Law, we certainly can, by the same Method, empower the Crown to impress Men into the Service; and if such a Vote should be passed, what Man in the Nation could say he had an Hour's Certainty of enjoying those Liberties and Privileges he is entitled to as a Subject of *England*.

My Lords, 'till this Day it has always been held for an undoubted Truth, that the Consent of Parliament cannot

cannot be obtained any other Way than by a Bill brought into either House of Parliament, and regularly passed through both : By the Custom of Parliament, this Bill must be twice read, then committed, and then read a third Time in each House of Parliament, before it can be presented to the King for his Consent ; and then at last it must have the Royal Assent, before it can be look'd on as a Law of this Kingdom, or as a Regulation to which the Parliament has given its Consent. These Forms and Methods of Proceeding in Parliament, were wisely established by our Ancestors, to give Time to every Gentleman of either House to be fully apprized of what he was about, to consider maturely all the Consequences of what was propos'd, and even to consult and advise with his Friends, before he should be obliged to determine himself as to either Side of the Question ; and if ever this Method should be alter'd, if ever the Doctrine should take Place, that we may do as much by a Vote as we can do by a Bill, our Constitution will be upon the most precarious Footing ; both Houses of Parliament may be surprized into a Thing which it will never be in the Power of the Nation to retrieve ; nay, I do not know but some Day or another, both Houses of Parliament may be brought in by Surprize, to surrender up to the Crown all the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges of their Country by one single Vote.

There is a very great Difference, *my Lords*, between anticipated Promises and future Provisions. The first is a running in Debt, the other is a paying of ready Money for what we have ; and the Nature of Mankind is such, that most Men are apt to be more extravagant when they live upon Credit, than when they pay ready Money for every Thing they have. This Nation has already suffered severely by the former Practice, and therefore I wish we would begin to think of following the latter only for the future : But there is this further Difference between the Parliament's providing afterwards for what the Nation has been obliged necessarily to expend, and promising before-hand to provide for what the Administration may thereafter think themselves necessarily obliged to expend ; that in the first Case the Honour of Parliament is no way engaged to the Creditors of the Publick, and if the Nation should be idly and extravagantly run into Debt, I believe the Parliament would not think themselves any Way obliged to pay the Debts which had been so contracted, especially,

N

because

because in such a Case it may be supposed, that those, who had upon such an Account become the Creditors of the Publick, would generally consist of the Creatures and Favourites, perhaps the Trustees of the Ministers; but in the latter Case, the Parliament stands engaged for all the Debts that shall be contracted, whether the Expence was necessary or not: The giving of anticipated Promises, is giving a previous Credit to Ministers, it is putting a Parliamentary Trust in them, it is really vesting in the Ministers a Parliamentary Authority, by which many innocent private Men may be encouraged and drawn in to lend them their Money; and therefore the Honour of Parliament stands engaged to repay that Money to the publick Creditors, without any Regard whether it has been necessarily expended for the Benefit of the Publick or not.

I shall readily grant, *my Lords*, that if, in Consequence of such anticipated Promises, the Ministers should run the Nation into an unnecessary Expence, the next Parliament might punish the Ministers who had advised such Measures; but suppose such Ministers were actually hanged up, as they certainly would deserve, would that make good the Damage the Nation had sustain'd? Their Sufferings might, perhaps, make some Holidays for the Populace; but can we suppose that their Estates would be sufficient to reimburse the Publick, or to satisfy the Debts with which they had loaded the Publick, by Means of the Credit imprudently given to them by Parliament? Surely there is more Wisdom in not putting it in a Man's Power to betray his Trust, than there is in foolishly and needlessly reposing a great Trust in a Man, whereby he is not only enabled, but perhaps tempted to cheat one, and then hanging him for so doing. This is really the present Case; the giving such an unlimited Credit to Ministers, is really laying them under a very great Temptation to defraud the Publick. We know, *my Lords*, how natural it is for Men to hope for Impunity; nay, we know how difficult it is, even for Parliament, to bring great and high Criminals to condign Punishment; and such a Power and Credit as are now proposed to be given, may afford a Precedent by which some future Minister may be enabled to put it absolutely out of the Power, both of the Parliament and the People, ever to punish him, or any such as him thereafter.

The Power and the Credit now proposed for us to give are, *my Lords*, at all Times dangerous, but much more so when granted at the very End of a Parliament, and just before a new Election. I do not believe that any bad Use will be made of the unlimited Credit now proposed to be given; it is not to be supposed that a bad Use can be made of any Powers we give, under his Majesty's wise Administration; but I do not know what may happen hereafter: If we should ever chance to have an ambitious Prince upon the Throne, or a weak Prince under the sole Management of a guilty and wicked Minister, a Precedent may be made of what is now proposed, the same unlimited Powers may be then obtained from an expiring Parliament, under Pretence of defending the Nation against imaginary and unknown Dangers, but really in order doubly to arm that Prince or Minister against our Constitution; that is to say, to furnish him with Money, to be laid out in procuring a Majority of the Creatures and Slaves of the Administration to be returned for the ensuing Parliament; but in Case he should fail of Success in that Attempt, to furnish him with such a Standing Army as might be sufficient to protect him against the highest Resentment of a new Parliament, or to support him without any Parliament at all. If the first Project should succeed; if he should by Bribery get a Parliament to his Mind, such a Parliament, we may believe, would certainly conclude with a like Vote of Credit, in order to chuse the next; and thus a tyrannical Administration, and a slavish Parliament, would for ever be entail'd upon this Nation. But suppose he should fail in his Project of Bribery, he would then have Recourse to his Army, and might thereby support himself without any Parliament at all; for surely no Man can suppose, that a Prince or Minister, with a numerous Standing Army entirely under his Direction, and commanded by such Officers only as he shall please to appoint, will ever want Money to support that Army, or to answer the other Demands of his Government: As long as the Parliament complies with all his Requests, he will accept of what Money he wants in a legal Way; but if the Parliament should once begin to refuse, he will then resolve to raise that Money in an illegal Way, which he finds he cannot have in a legal.

This, I hope, *my Lords*, is not the Design at present; but as what is now proposed may give Encouragement to

the forming of such Designs, and may be made a Precedent for rendering that Design successful, therefore I must be for disagreeing with the Motion.

The Earl of P———*tt* spoke next in Favour of the Motion; then the Earl of A———*rd*, and after him the Duke of M———*se* spoke, both against the Motion, and next,

The Lord Ch———*or*.

My Lords,

THE present Situation of the Affairs of *Europe* is so well known to every Lord in this House, that it is very unnecessary to give any particular Account of them: Considering the dangerous and heavy War now actually begun, and the many Powers engaged in that War, it is certain that some Accidents may occur, which may threaten this Nation with great and imminent Dangers: This was, we may suppose, the Occasion of the present Message from his Majesty to this House; and it must be granted, that this was a most weighty Reason for sending such a Message; but as by that Message his Majesty desires no Powers but what were before vested in him, therefore we are to look upon it only as an Application from his Majesty for the Advice of his Parliament, with Relation to what may be thought most proper to be done at such a critical Juncture; and the Address proposed by the noble Duke is, in my Opinion, the most dutiful and the most proper Return we can make to such a gracious Message.

If without sending any such Message to Parliament, the Ministers, in Case of an absolute Necessity, had augmented our Forces both by Sea and Land, and had borrow'd Money for that Purpose, can it be doubted but that the next Parliament would have approv'd of such Measures, and would have provided for such Expence? But if they should augment our Forces either by Sea or Land, or put the Nation to any Expence, without an apparent Necessity for so doing, is there any Thing in the Address proposed that can tend to justify them for such a Piece of Mismanagement? Will not the next Parliament be left as fully at Liberty to punish them, as if no such Message had ever been sent to Parliament, nor any such Address presented by Parliament to the King?

I will

I will grant, *my Lords*, that by the Address proposed, the Ministers may have a little more Credit among the People than otherwise they might have had. I will allow that the Honour of Parliament will, by the Address proposed, be engaged to provide for the Expence that may be incurred, and to repay the Money that may be borrow'd on that Account, whether it shall appear that such Expence was necessary or not; but this is the very Reason that I am for the Proposition made to us: Surely in such a dangerous Situation as the Affairs of Europe are in at present, the Nation is not to be left defenceless, for fear a bad Use should be made of the Powers granted for providing for its Defence. Shall we refuse a reasonable Credit or reasonable Powers to our Government, and thereby expose the Nation to be invaded or over-run by a foreign Enemy, and our Government, perhaps, entirely subverted, only for fear that by granting such a Credit, the Nation may, perhaps, be brought into a little unnecessary Expence, or for fear our Ministers should make a bad Use of that Trust which we repose in them? *My Lords*, it is absolutely necessary at all Times and in all Countries, to put some Trust in those who are appointed to administer the Affairs of the Publick; without some Trust it would be impossible for any Government to subsist; and the greater Danger a Country is in, the more Trust must the People necessarily repose in their Governors.

But there is another Consideration, which is of greater Weight with me: His Majesty tells us, he has nothing more at Heart than to see the Flame of War extinguished; and as it is to be hoped his Majesty will succeed in his Endeavours that Way, before the Flame comes to such a Height, as that we may be necessarily obliged to involve ourselves in it, there is nothing can tend more towards making his Majesty's Endeavours successful, than to convince all the Powers now engaged in War, that there is a perfect Harmony subsisting between his Majesty and his Parliament; that we repose an entire Confidence in his Majesty's Wisdom and Conduct; and that we will be ready upon all Occasions to support those Measures which his Majesty may find himself obliged to take: And is there anything can be a greater Testimony of all this to Foreigners, than our agreeing to the Address now proposed? This will convince every one of them, that in Case any of them, by their Obstinacy, shall provoke his Majesty to declare against them, he will fall upon them

them with the whole Power of this Nation ; and when the united Force of this Nation is thrown into the Scale, the Weight of it is well known to all the Powers in Europe.

As to the Method of granting the Power or the Credit now asked for, there is nothing new in it ; it is what has been often practised before, and it is now the more necessary, because it is proper the Parliament should be soon dissolved, and we do not know what may happen before it may be possible for the new one to assemble. 'Tis true, the present Parliament does not of itself expire by the *Septennial Bill*, 'till the Month of September or October next, so that there is not any absolute Necessity for calling a new Parliament before that Time ; but the sooner a new Parliament is called, I believe, it will be the better ; for though a new Parliament can do nothing but what the present may do, yet there is such a Thing as the Complexion of a Parliament to be consider'd ; and if the new Parliament shall appear to be as much devoted to his Majesty as the present, it will shew that there is a perfect Harmony subsists between his Majesty and his People in general ; and the new Parliament being to continue for seven Years, it must add a much greater Weight to his Majesty's Councils, and to his Negotiations abroad, than can be expected from a Parliament which is to expire in six Months.

Therefore, *my Lords*, as there is nothing new or extraordinary in the Address proposed, as I think it the most proper Return can be made, and such a Return as we ought in Duty to make to his Majesty's most gracious Message ; and as I think it absolutely necessary for the Safety of the Nation, and for rendering his Majesty's Endeavours for re-establishing the Tranquillity of Europe successful, I shall give my Consent to it.

Lord C———t again.

My Lords,

IT is not to be deny'd, it has not in this Debate been deny'd, but that the Parliament may grant, and have formerly, though but very seldom, granted some extraordinary Powers to the Crown, when it has been made appear to them, that the Nation has actually been in any great and imminent Danger ; but to take such an extraordinary Step, to grant such extensive and unlimited Powers to the Crown, when it is not so much as pretended that the Nation is in any imminent Danger. I will

will aver to be not only a new but a dangerous Precedent. To tell us that the Nation may be in Danger, and therefore we must grant such a Power as is now demanded is certainly something very extraordinary : It is a Reason for granting such Powers that will always exist, and, in my Opinion, it always will, and always ought to be more prevalent when our Neighbours are all at Peace with one another, than when they are deeply engaged in a War ; for if ever any Quarrel should arise between us and any of them, if ever any of them should conceive Hopes of Advantage from making an Invasion upon us, it is certain they will be in a better Condition, and more easily induced to revenge that Quarrel, or to make an Invasion, when they are no Way engaged elsewhere, than when they are deeply engaged in a War with some other Nation, and have Use for all the Forces they can raise, in a quite different Part of the World.

I do not know, *my Lords*, but that there may be Occasion for putting the Nation into a better State of Defence than it is in at present ; but I am convinced that Occasion is not now so pressing but that it may be done in a regular Parliamentary Way. To pretend that the putting of an absolute Power into the Hands of the Crown, will give Weight to his Majesty's Councils, and to his Negotiations abroad, is to suppose that Foreigners know much less of our Constitution, or of the Temper of our People, than they really do : Perhaps Ways and Means may be found to prevail upon a Parliament to do so, but our Neighbours know that it is contrary to the Nature of our Constitution ; from thence they will most justly conclude, that such a Measure will render the Generality of the People disaffected, and this, of Course, will diminish the Weight of his Majesty's Negotiations abroad, and will make Foreigners much more ready both to insult and invade us, than we can suppose they would otherwise be.

I will admit, *my Lords*, that his Majesty has a Power of providing for the Safety of the Nation, during the Interval of Parliament ; but that Power must be very moderately used, and certainly, in Case of any sudden Danger, the Parliament is to be called together as soon as possible. If during the Recess of Parliament, it should be discovered that the Nation were threaten'd with any imminent Danger, his Majesty may immediately issue out the proper and necessary Orders for augmenting his

Forces

Forces both by Sea and Land, and he may borrow what Money may be immediately necessary for that Purpose; but upon any such Occasion it is certain, that his Majesty ought at the same Time to issue a Proclamation, ordering the Parliament to assemble forthwith, and whoever should advise him otherwise, would be to the highest Degree criminal, and would deserve the severest Punishment. As upon any such Occasion the Parliament might meet in a very few Weeks, we cannot suppose that any extraordinary Sums could be wanted in so short a Time: And as his Majesty enjoys the Hearts and the Affections of the People, their Purses will always be open to him upon any Emergency, when the Danger is apparent, especially when they see the Parliament summoned to meet, from which they may expect immediate Reimbursement: Indeed, when pretended and imaginary Dangers are invented by Ministers only for their own Ends, is not to be supposed that they can borrow much Money from the People, without a previous Authority from Parliament for doing so: Therefore, as there never can be any Occasion for such a previous Authority in the Time of real Danger; as the granting of such a previous Authority can serve only for enabling Ministers to load the Publick, when there is no real Danger to be apprehended, as the granting of such previous Authorities may some Time or other enable a Prince or Minister to overturn our Constitution, no such ought ever, in my Opinion, to be granted; but if ever any such is to be granted, it ought to be granted in a regular Parliamentary Manner, and not in the Manner now proposed, especially when even those that ask for it in such an extraordinary Manner, cannot so much as say that the Nation is in any imminent Danger.

The Earl of Sc——gh spoke next for the Question; and then the Earl of I—a spoke in Substance thus:

My Lords,

THE Affair now before us I take to be an Affair of the utmost Consequence: It is an Affair in which the Safety of this Nation, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, are, I think, very deeply concern'd, and therefore I am surpris'd to hear it treated by some Lords in so ludicrous a Manner: Such a Method of treating any Subject ought never, I think, be made Use of or admitted, into any of the Debates of this House, but is
still

still more improper, when made Use of in a Debate of so very great Consequence as the present.

Though this Nation, *my Lords*, may not, perhaps, at this very Instant, be exposed to any immediate Danger, though we are not as yet any Way engaged to take a Share in the present War; yet it is highly probable that we may at last be obliged to engage ourselves, in order to preserve that Ballance of Power upon which the Liberties of *Europe*, and consequently the Liberties of this Nation absolutely depend; nay, it is certain, that we must at last engage in the War, in Case his Majesty cannot by his Authority, and by the Weight which his Councils may have with foreign Courts, oblige the contending Parties each to yield up some of their Pretensions, and all to submit to the just Proposals which he may think proper to make for restoring the Tranquillity of *Europe*. Therefore, *my Lords*, in order to increase his Majesty's Authority, in order to give his Councils that Weight which they ought always to have in foreign Courts, we ought to agree to the Proposition now made to us; for if the Powers now engaged in War see that his Majesty has an entire Confidence put in him by his Parliament, and that this Nation is in all Events well provided not only for its Defence, but for falling with great Vigour upon that Power, or that Side, which shall by their Obstinacy provoke his Majesty's Resentment; it will add a prevailing Weight to those Negotiations which his Majesty shall find it necessary to enter into, and thereby the Ballance of Power may be preserved, the Tranquillity of *Europe* may be restored, without this Nation's being at all obliged to take any Share in the War, and perhaps without laying his Majesty under a Necessity of making any great Use of those Powers which are now proposed to be granted to him: Whereas, if the Powers now asked for should be refused, it will make Foreigners believe, that neither the Parliament nor the Nation can put any great Confidence in his Majesty's Conduct, and consequently they will have little or no Regard to any Proposition his Majesty may make to them, by which this Nation will at last be necessarily drawn into the War, and will thereby be exposed to great Dangers and many Losses, and put to an infinite Expence.

The Eyes of all *Europe* are fix'd, *my Lords*, upon the Measures to be taken by this Nation in the present Conjunction; and if either of the Parties now engaged in

O

War,

War, should begin to suspect that we were to fall in with the other, to oppose any of their Designs, or to put a Check to the Success of their Arms, they would immediately, and with as much Dispatch and Secresy as possible, * attempt to make an Invasion upon us, especially if they saw that we were no Way provided against them. These Suspicions and Jealousies may arise without any Foundation, they may begin to suspect that his Majesty has resolved and is preparing to join against them, before any such Resolution be really taken, or any Preparations made for that Purpose. 'Tis true, his Majesty may not, perhaps, be obliged to declare himself openly on either Side, 'till he has had Time to take the Advice and Assistance of a new Parliament, and to make proper Provisions for the Defence of the Nation; but it is impossible to foresee how or when some of our Neighbours may begin to suspect that we have such a Design, and therefore it is necessary for us immediately to prepare, at least to put ourselves in a proper Posture of Defence, and to furnish his Majesty with the Powers necessary for that Purpose.

I am surpris'd to hear it said, that our Neighbours will always, even in Time of Peace, be in as good a Condition to execute a Design suddenly against us, as they are at present. In Time of Peace, some few of their Forces may, perhaps, be quarter'd upon their Sea-Coasts; but then these Forces are always, for the Convenience of Quarters, separated and dispersed in such a Manner, as to put it out of their Power to assemble any great Number at any one Place upon their Coast, without giving us just Ground for taking the Alarm, and sufficient Time to provide against them: Whereas, at present, they may march a great Detachment from their Army, and that Detachment may be arrived at a proper Place for embarking, before it is possible for us to know what Route they have taken, or to suspect that they are designed against us. In Time of Peace their Men of War are all laid up in their Harbours, their Seamen are dispersed, and many Materials are wanting, before a
large

* *As the Emperor cannot possibly invade us, the noble Lord must certainly have been jealous of the Designs and Sincerity of France; and from his Argument we may gather, that France is an Ally never to be trusted, at least if we don't, upon all Occasions, come into her Measures.*

large Fleet can be fitted out; and therefore it is impossible to imagine, that any of our Neighbours can then be in such a Readiness to make a sudden Invasion upon us, as they are at present, when most of their Ships of War are ready fitted out, well mann'd, and provided with every Thing necessary for sailing upon any Expedition.

For these Reasons, *my Lords*, I must conclude, that we are now in greater Danger of being invaded, than we can ever be in Time of Peace, and if I should refuse to grant the Powers now asked for, I should really think myself criminal: If a Servant, who knew that his Master's House were in Danger of being attack'd by Thieves, should leave the Doors open, in order to give them an easy Opportunity of entering, to murder the Family and plunder the House, I should think such a Servant more guilty than any of the Thieves themselves; and if I should refuse to give my Consent to the Resolution propos'd, and an Invasion should be afterwards suddenly made upon us, and this Nation thereby involved in War and Confusion; I should look upon myself to be in the very Case of such a Servant, and therefore guilty of one of the most heinous Crimes that can be committed against my Country.

Earl of W———ea.

THE Noble Lords who have spoke in Support of the Resolution propos'd to us, have all spoke as if this Nation were no Way provided for its Defence, which really to me, *my Lords*, seems to be something very surprising. I cannot comprehend what we have been doing in all the former Part of this Session of Parliament, if we have not already provided sufficiently against any Invasion that can be secretly or suddenly made upon us. Have we not resolv'd to keep up a numerous Army of Land Forces in this Island, besides the numerous Army kept up in the neighbouring Island, which may be brought over upon any Emergency to our Assistance; and from all these, cannot we soon form an Army of regular Troops? I am sure much greater than any Army of Foreigners that can be sent by surprise to invade us. Surely no Lord in this House can imagine, that so numerous an Army must always be kept up in this Island, even in the Time of the most profound Tranquillity: Nay, if we were actually engag'd in War, I hope it would not be thought necessary to keep always such a

Number of regular Forces at home, in order to guard our own Dominions against Invasions ; I hope it would in such a Case be thought, that we might safely send a great Part of them abroad, in order to carry the War into the Territories of our Enemies, otherwise any War we may hereafter engage in, must become very chargeable and burthensome to the Nation. But besides the Land Army we have already provided, have we not already made a very great Addition to the Number of our Seamen, and have not we thereby enabled his Majesty to fit out a Fleet much superior to any Squadron that can be sent against us ? From all which I must conclude, *my Lords*, that we have already sufficiently provided for the Safety and Defence of the Nation, against any sudden and unexpected Attack that can be made upon us ; and if his Majesty should think fit to join either of the Parties now engaged in the War ; if any foreign Power should declare War against us, or if any of our Neighbours should openly prepare to invade us, his Majesty would have Time enough to call the Parliament together, and thereby we would have an Opportunity of providing in a regular Parliamentary Way, for whatever should be thought proper either for Offence or Defence.

I hope, *my Lords*, I shall always be as ready as any Lord in this House, to put all proper Confidence in his Majesty : I am upon the present Occasion extremely willing to strengthen his Majesty's Hands as much as possible, in order to add Weight to his Negotiations, and to enable him to restore by his Influence the Tranquillity of *Europe*, or to preserve by his Power the Liberties of *Europe* ; but is there no Way of preserving the Liberties of *Great Britain* ? Are we, under such a Pretence, to give up the Rights of Parliament ? Are we to put an absolute and unlimited Power, and by such an extraordinary Method too, into the Hands of his Majesty's Ministers ? No, *my Lords*, no such Power can ever be necessary : I hope this House will never agree to any such ministerial Demand ; for the present I must look upon it as such : I shall always look upon such extensive Demands as coming from the Ministers only ; they may be necessary for the protecting of guilty Ministers, but they can never be necessary for preserving the Honour or the Dignity of the Crown.

The King has, no Doubt, a Power to make what Treaties, and to enter into what Negotiations he may think

think proper ; and if the Nation should happen to be threaten'd with any immediate Attack, he may, and I hope always will take the proper Measures for preventing or defeating that Attack : In all such Cases it is not to be doubted but the Parliament will approve of what has been done, when they come to examine into the Measures so taken, and find that they were wisely concerted, and necessary for the End proposed : But if the contrary should appear ; if it should appear that dishonourable and inconsistent Treaties have been concluded ; that ridiculous Negotiations have been set on Foot, and ridiculously carry'd on ; that the Nation has been sometimes exposed to Dangers and Insults without any just Cause, and often put to great Expence when no Danger could possibly be apprehended ; has not the Parliament, in such a Case, a Power ? Are they not in Honour, in Duty to their Country, bound to enquire into such Misconduct, and to punish the Authors of such knavish or such foolish Councils ? And shall we, *my Lords*, thus before-hand approve of whatever Negotiations or Treaties the Ministers may be pleased to advise his Majesty to enter into or conclude ? Shall we thus give an anticipated Promise to provide for whatever Expence the Ministers may pretend to think necessary for the Nation's Defence ? No Ministers ought to desire such an implicit Faith to be placed in their future Management, and I cannot think that the present, by their late Conduct, deserve any such extraordinary Confidence.

With respect to those who may become Creditors of the Publick, the Difference betwixt an anticipated Promise and a posterior Approbation, has been already fully explained : It has by both Sides been admitted, that the Honour of Parliament in the first Case stands engaged to the Creditors of the Publick, whether the Expence incurred be thought necessary or not ; but in the last Case the Honour of Parliament does not stand engaged, unless it appear to them that the Expence was necessarily incurred. But I must likewise take Notice, *my Lords*, that it is the same with respect to any Treaties that may be entered into : When the Parliament grants before-hand such full Powers as are at present demanded, the Honour of Parliament stands engaged to see such Treaties punctually performed, whether they be consistent with the Honour and Interest of the Nation or not ; but when Treaties are concluded without any such full Powers from Parliament, the Honour of Parliament is no Way engaged

engaged to perform them, unless they approve of them; the most the Parliament or the Nation are in Honour obliged to do in that Case is, to make a Sacrifice of those Ministers, who engaged their Country in such dishonourable or disadvantageous Treaties; but in the first Case, I do not see how the Nation could get off from the Obligation, unless it were by making a Sacrifice of all those Members of either House of Parliament, who consented to the granting of such Powers, as well as of the Ministers themselves.

I will agree that the Question now before us is an Affair of the utmost Consequence; it is an Affair in which the Safety of the Nation, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown are deeply concern'd; but I am convinced that the Safety of the Nation, and the Preservation of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, consist in rejecting the Proposition now before us: In this the Safety of the Nation certainly consists; because, our agreeing to the Proposition would, in my Opinion, be, to bring the Nation into a real domestick Danger, under the Pretence of providing against a foreign Danger, that is either altogether imaginary, or so distant, that it may easily be provided against, without making a Sacrifice of our Constitution; and as the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of *Great Britain*, consists in our King's being the King of a free People; therefore, every Thing that may tend to encroach on the Freedom of the People, which this Proposition directly does, must derogate both from the Honour and the Dignity of the Crown.

I shall likewise grant, that the present Subject ought to be treated in the most serious Manner: I am really sorry to hear such Arguments, founded upon such pretended Dangers; for I may venture to prophesy, that if ever the Parliament of *Great Britain* should come into the Practice of raising Phantoms in the Air, as an Excuse for their granting extraordinary Powers to Ministers of State, the Liberties of this Nation will then begin to stand upon a very precarious Footing: They will depend entirely upon the Ministers for the Time being; if they make a right Use of the Powers granted them, our Constitution may be preserved during their Time; but they may, whenever they please, turn those Powers towards the Overthrow of our Constitution; and as the future Safety of Ministers of State, may, very probably, soon come to depend upon the Overthrow of our Constitution.

tution, after our Liberties come to depend upon such Guardians, I am afraid they will be but short lived.

The noble Lord who spoke last told us, that the Servant who left his Master's Door open for the Thieves to enter and steal, was as criminal as the Thieves themselves: In this I agree with him; but in the present Case who is the Criminal, the treacherous Servant? We are told, that the Nation is now in no greater Danger than it was at the Beginning of the Session; therefore we are now either in no Danger, and consequently under no Necessity of granting the Powers asked for; or we were then in great Danger, and the Criminal, the treacherous Servant, must be he, who then knew of that Danger, and yet has concealed it from us, has concealed the Design and the Approach of the Thieves, 'till it is become impossible for us to shut our Doors against them, 'till 'tis become impossible for us to guard against the Danger from without, but by exposing ourselves to a great Danger from within.

Then the Lord H——y spoke in Favour of the Motion, and the Question being put, is was, on a Division, carry'd in the Affirmative. Of the Lords in the House there were 76 Contents, and 39 Not Contents; and of the Proxies, there were 25 Contents, and 19 Not Contents: Upon which the two following Proteſts were enter'd in the Journals of the House.

Dissentient

Because we are of Opinion, that no free People should, on any Occasion whatever, vest in any Person an unlimited Power for an indefinite Time; and whenever they do, they at the same Time resign their Liberty.

Abingdon,	Aylesford,	Stair,
Cobham,	Bathurst,	Ker,
Bristol,	Chesterfield,	Coventry,
Marchmont,	Carteret,	Montjoy,
Burlington,	Berkshire,	Foley,
Litchfield,	Oxford & Mort.	Thanet,
Willoughby de Br.	Montrose,	Bedford,
Gower,	Weymouth,	Tweedale,
Clinton,	Shaftsbury,	Cardigan,
Northampton,	Grahame,	Craven,
Srafford,	Boyle,	Winchelsea and Nort.

Dissentient

Dissentient

1. **B**Ecause we conceive an Address of this Kind, empowering the Crown to raise Men and Money, without specifying the Numbers or the Sum, is unwarranted by any Precedent, and is of the most dangerous Consequence; for it seems to us totally to subvert the very Foundation of our Constitution, the Wisdom of our Ancestors having provided many regular Steps and solemn Forms, for granting Supplies to the Crown; whereas this new Method of a sudden Address upon a Message, at once frustrates and eludes all those wise and antient Precautions.

2. Because the History of several Countries, formerly free, furnishes us with many fatal Examples of the Abuse of such unlimited Powers, whenever the Estates of those Countries have transferred the Legislative Authority, of raising Money, from themselves, by an ill-placed Confidence, into the Hands of a few. The *Cortes of Spain*, by trussing the Power of raising Money, without their being assembled, though but for one Year; and the Estates of *France*, by allowing the Aids, for the Defence of the Kingdom, to be raised for three or four Years together, without their being summoned to meet; have never been able to retrieve their ancient Liberties and Constitution; but by their weak Compliance with such a fatal Measure, were the unhappy Instruments of rendering themselves useless, and of enslaving their respective Countries.

3. Because, though we have all possible Confidence in his Majesty's Wisdom and Justice, and all imaginable Zeal for the Honour and Support of his Person and Government, we cannot approve of a Message, which, we are persuaded, was both form'd and advised by the same Ministers in whom those extensive and discretionary Powers are lodged by this Address; and we see no Reason, by any Experience of their *past Economy*, to trust them with the *arbitrary Disposal* of an unlimited Sum, and as little Reason, from the *Success of their former Alliances*, to give any Approbation to *past Treaties*, which have never been communicated to this House, or a previous Sanction to *future Treaties* they shall contract; especially since, by their Multiplicity of Negotiations, they have involved the Nation in Engagements with divers foreign Powers, inconsistent (as we conceive) with one another; and in so great a Variety, we can by

no Means be sure that the *best* will be singled out to be fulfilled.

4. Because the present unfortunate Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*, cannot be represented as unforeseen, or unexpected; since, from the gradual Progress of our Negotiations for some Years past, the gradual Increase of the Disorders and Confusions in *Europe* has been foretold. We therefore conceive, that had there not been some *Secret Reason* for proceeding in this Manner, (which Reason we will rather pass over in Silence, than attempt to point out) the necessary Demands of Men and Money would be laid before the Parliament at the Beginning of the Session, according to the antient and regular Usage, and which would as certainly have been granted by a Parliament, which has distinguished itself by a remarkable Zeal, Duty, and *Liberality* to the Throne.

5. We cannot think it prudent, in order to extricate ourselves out of our present Difficulties, to lodge those unlimited, and (as we apprehend) dangerous Powers, in the Hands of those very Persons, under whose Management and Conduct these Difficulties have been brought upon us; if (as we may conceive) the National Debts are hardly lessen'd by more than 20 Years Peace; if our successive Fleets have prov'd a Terror to no Nation, but only a Burthen to our own: If our great Armies have disturbed the Minds of none but his Majesty's own Subjects; this extensive Power of raising Money, Fleets, and Armies, seems to us improperly intrusted in the Hands of *those Ministers*, who have made no better Use of the Confidence already reposed in them.

6. We would, with the utmost Zeal, concur in whatever might increase to his Majesty the Affections of his People at home, or the Respect of his Neighbours abroad: But this Zeal, without Knowledge, we think, can tend to neither of those desirable Ends; but on the contrary, rather bring Contempt (as we apprehend) upon the too easy and implicit Faith of Parliaments, than add Weight and Dignity to those Powers we lodge, without any visible Reason, in the Hands of the Ministers.

Gower,
Litchfield,
Bathurst,
Boyle,
Chesterfield,
Foley,

Bristol,
Grahame,
Winchelsea & Nott.
Tweedale,
Stair,
Clinton,

Shaftsbury,
Bedford,
Berkshire,
Northampton,
Thanet,
Craven,

Cobham,

P

Cobham,	Marchmont,	Montjoy,
Aylesford,	Strafford,	Cardigan,
Montrose,	Carteret,	Weymouth,
Oxford and Mor-	Ker,	Willoughby de Broke.
timer,	Coventry,	

The same Day, viz. Thursday the 28th of March, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the House of Commons, that he had a Message from his Majesty to that House, signed by his Majesty, which he presented; and the same being read by Mr. Speaker, was in the following Words :

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty very thankfully acknowledges the Zeal and Affection which this House has shewn by the early Dispatch they have already made in the necessary Supplies for the publick Service, which his Majesty recommended to their immediate Care, at the opening of this Session.

But the War which has broke out in Europe still unhappily continuing, his Majesty has nothing more at Heart, than to see that Flame extinguished, and to avoid, if possible, the engaging his Subjects in the Hazards and Expence of a War; being at the same Time desirous, neither to give any just Alarm to other Nations, nor to subject himself to any unprovoked Insults.

In this View, and to the End that his Majesty's Endeavours, in Conjunction with his Allies, for procuring an Accommodation, may in due Time have the desired Effect; and that his Majesty may be in a Condition to make good such Engagements, as Honour, Justice, and Prudence, may call upon him to fulfil or contract, and that his Kingdoms may not be left exposed to any desperate Attempts during such Time, as it may be impossible for his Majesty to have the immediate Advice and Assistance of his Great Council, upon any emergency arising from the present Posture of Affairs in Europe, which may nearly concern the Interest and Safety of these Kingdoms: His Majesty hopes that he shall be enabled and supported by his Parliament, in making such farther Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may be absolutely necessary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms, and in concerting such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs may require. Whatever Expence shall be thereby occasioned, shall be made in as frugal a Manner as is possible; and an Account thereof shall be laid before the next Parliament.

Then

Then Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer stood up and moved, that the Message should be taken into Consideration the next Day.

Upon which, *W——m Sh——en*, Esq; 'rose up, and spoke to the Effect as follows.

W——m Sh——en, Esq;

S I R,

WHEN I reflect on what happen'd in this House the very first Day of this Session, I am much surpris'd at a Message of this Nature; and the more, that it is now brought in upon us the very End of a Session, and that Session, I suppose, the last of a long Parliament. I remember that I, as well as some other Gentlemen, took Exception at some Words in the Address, in Answer to his Majesty's Speech from the Throne at the Opening of this Session, because they seem'd to bear something like a Promise of a Vote of Credit; upon which Occasion the Honourable Gentleman who has made you this Motion, and his Friends pretended to be greatly astonish'd at our Sagacity, and seem'd, as I then thought, to give us Assurance that nothing of that Kind should be asked for in this Session of Parliament.

I must confess, I had some Sort of Dependance upon what they said, but as they were only the Words of Ministers of State, in which I never had any great Faith, I begin now to be ashamed even of that little Confidence I put in them. I do not know, indeed, but that they may now find an Excuse for their Breach of Promise in this Respect; for I must grant, that what they now ask for, is not properly a Vote of Credit, it is an absolute Surrender of all we have in the World. This, indeed, is laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree, and may prevent our being ever troubled with any Demands for the future: But as this is an Affair of the greatest Consequence to the whole Nation, as well as to the Gentlemen now in this House, I hope some longer Time will be given to Gentlemen to consider of such an extraordinary Demand, before they be oblig'd to determine what they are to do; for if they once agree to such a Grant, it may be generously and voluntarily restored, but it will never be in their Power to resume it.

When we come to take the Message into our Consideration, I do not doubt but the Honourable Gentleman who brought it us, will not only give us the Reasons why it became necessary for his Majesty to send us such a Mes-

page, but will likewise tell us why it was so long in being sent ; and therefore I shall not 'till then so much as suspect his Candour, as to think that there was any unfair Design in delaying it 'till so many Gentlemen are gone into the Country ; but as it has been so long delay'd, I hope some few Days will be granted, before we take it into Consideration, that some of those Gentlemen, at least, who are gone into the Country, may have Time to return : I shall not pretend to name any Day ; but if the Honourable Gentleman will be so good as to withdraw his Motion, I doubt not of some other Gentleman's rising up to Purpose some more distant Day.

Mr. Ch——— or of the Ex———r.

S I R,

I Have not forgot what passed in this House the first Day of the Session : I remember that some Gentlemen did then take Exceptions to some Expressions in the Address proposed, as if a Promise of a Vote of Credit was couched under these Expressions : And upon that Occasion I might, for one, take the Liberty to assure the House, that no such Use should be made, or was intended to be made, of any Expression then proposed to be put into our Address. This, I remember, was what I said, and I said no more : Nor can I believe that any more was said by any Gentleman in this House ; for as the Necessity of demanding Votes of Credit depend upon future Events, it would have been ridiculous for any Gentleman to have pretended to promise that no such Thing should be desired.

As to the Message itself, it is not now proper to enter into the Merits of it, or into the Causes which have produced it ; but in all the Time I have had the Honour to sit in Parliament, I remember no Instance where a Message sign'd by the King, has not been the next Day taken into Consideration : This is a Respect which has been always paid to the Crown ; and I am sure his present Majesty has never done any Thing to merit less Respect being paid by the Parliament to him, than what has been paid to all his Predecessors : I am perswaded, when we come to enter into the Merits of the Message, there can be no Reason found for making a Distinction between this and former Messages of the like Nature ; and the Necessity of sending it at this Conjunction will be made more fully appear ; therefore, as I have already moved, I hope the House will take it into Consideration Tomorrow Morning.

Sir

Sir W——m W——m.

S I R,

I Must own, my Surprize is as great as my worth Friend's, that a Message of this Nature should be sent to this House so near the Close of this Session; for whatever Promises were or were not made the first Day of the Session, I am very sure that most Gentlemen expected that every Thing of Consequence had been over long before this Time; and upon this general Presumption, a great many Gentlemen who have not the Honour to be let into Ministerial Secrets, are gone into the Country; it being at present more necessary, perhaps, than usual, for such Gentlemen to return to their respective Countries, in order to prevent their being bought and jobbed out of that natural Interest, by which only they can expect to enjoy the Honour of representing their Country in Parliament. But however necessary their Presence there may be at this Time, yet if Time be allow'd them, I doubt not but most of them will think it their Duty to return to the Service of their Country in this House, when they hear of a Matter of so very great Importance is to come before us: It is, I think, a Matter of the highest Importance: It is, as my worthy Friend called it, an absolute Surrender of our All; a Surrender of the Rights, and a delegating the Power of Parliament to the Crown: This absolute Power, 'tis true, is now demanded but 'till next Session of Parliament; but if it were not for the great Confidence I repose in his present Majesty, I should be much afraid the next Session would never be allowed to meet, unless upon the new Election a Majority of the Members should appear to be such as would be ready to confirm or to renew that Surrender.

The Honourable Gentleman on the Floor has told us, that it has always been usual to shew so much Respect to the Crown, as to take such Messages as the present into our Consideration the very next Day, and that he remembers no Instance to the contrary. 'Tis true, since I have sat in Parliament, I remember many, too many Messages, something of this Nature; and I believe they have always been taken into Consideration the next Day; but that did not proceed so much from the Respect we owe to the Crown, as from the Cause of sending the Message: There never was a Message of this Kind sent from the Crown, but when the Nation was threaten'd

with some such Thing as an immediate Invasion or Insurrection, which in the Body of the Message was expressed to be the Reason or Cause of sending such a Message; and as in such Cases the near Approach of the Danger, required the immediate concerting of proper Measures to prevent it, we may suppose that this was the chief Reason of their being so immediately taken into Consideration by this House: But as we are generally apt to improve upon bad Precedents, I will be bold to say, there never was such a Message sent to Parliament as the present, either with Respect to its Nature, to the Reason of sending it, or to the Time of its being sent. By no Message that was ever sent to Parliament, was there an absolute and an unlimited Power demanded by the Crown, which to every Gentleman must appear, at first Sight, to be the Demand now made upon us: There was never such a Message sent to Parliament, but what inform'd us of some immediate Danger impending, and just ready to fall upon the Nation; by the present Message we are told of no such Thing, nor do I believe that any such Thing can be pretended: And I remember no Instance of a Message any Way resembling this, that ever was sent to this House the very End of a Session, and that Session the last of a Parliament.

I cannot, indeed, form to myself a Reason why any such Message should have been at all sent, and much less can I form a Reason why it should have been sent at such a remarkable Time, and therefore I must think that Gentlemen will certainly expect to be inform'd by those who are able to inform them, what Necessity there was for this Message, and from what sudden, and, 'till now, unforeseen Change in our Affairs, the sending of such a Message has now become more necessary, than it was at any Time during the former Part of the Session. But whatever may be told us, as to this Particular, considering that almost one Half of the House are, for Reasons we all know, retired to the Country, in Decency, I think, and out of Regard to our own Proceedings, as well as out of Respect to the Crown, whatever is to be done in Consequence of this Message, ought to be done in a full House. Whether you should order a Call, or, which may be a shorter and more effectual Method, direct Letters to the Sheriffs, I shall leave to Gentlemen to determine; but one of the two ought certainly to be done, unless the Honourableman who brought us the Message, will rise up and inform us of some imminent Danger we are now threaten'd

threaten'd with ; and, even in that Case, I think some few Days ought to be allow'd, that those Gentlemen, at least, who are at no great Distance, may have Time to come up, and attend the Service of the House upon this important Occasion, otherwise it will look like stealing a Resolution of the House, when Gentlemen's Backs are turned, which I am sure can testify no great Respect to the Crown.

If we are really threaten'd with any immediate Danger, I shall propose the taking this Message into our Consideration on Monday or Tuesday next ; and I am sure, let the Necessity be never so pressing, let the Danger be never so great, so short a Delay can be attended with no great Inconvenience ; and whatever Resolution you can come to, it will carry the greater Weight, and will be the more for obviating any impending Danger.

Sir W——m Y——ge spoke next for the Motion ; and Sir J——n B——d, Lord C——ne, and W——r P——r, Esq; against it : And then the Question being put, for taking the Message into Consideration next Day, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, 211 against 121.

The next Day the said Message was accordingly taken into Consideration, when Mr. C——r of the E——r stood up and spoke as follows.

Mr. C——r of the E——r.

S I R,

AS I had the Honour to bring his Majesty's most gracious Message to this House, and likewise to move for your taking it this Day under your Consideration, I think it incumbent on me to offer what I judge to be proper, adviseable, and even becoming this House to do upon it.

The Manner in which his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of the Session was conceived, the Difference that was observable in it from former Speeches, the Notice thereby given by his Majesty to Parliament of the Situation of Affairs abroad, must have made every Gentleman who heard it, expect that something of this Nature might possibly come before you some Time this Session. His Majesty in that Speech told us, that the War which had begun in *Europe* still continu'd ; and tho' his Majesty then declared that he had no Part, except by his good Offices, in those Transactions, which had been declared to be the principal Causes and Motives of the War ;

War ; yet, I believe, there was not a Gentleman in the House but supposed, his Majesty might possibly be obliged to take a Share in the War, in order to prevent too much Power's being thrown into one Scale, whereby the Balance of Power in *Europe* would be overturned, and consequently every Gentleman must have expected such a Message as this, in Case the Tranquillity of *Europe* could not by Way of Negotiation be restored before the End of this Session.

When Gentlemen expect to hear Reasons given why this Message comes now, and was not brought sooner, and seem to insinuate, as if this must proceed from some sudden and unforeseen Change in Affairs ; all I can answer is, that we are now in the same Situation we were in at the Opening of the Session, some little Variation may, perhaps, have happen'd, but our Circumstances are in general the same, and their remaining so is, in my poor Opinion, a sufficient Reason for his Majesty's making this Application to his Parliament, and for our coming to such a Resolution as I shall by and by have the Honour to move to you. If any extraordinary Change had happen'd in the Affairs of *Europe*, or with Respect to our own particular Circumstances, during the Continuance of the Session, his Majesty could immediately, and without any Delay, have apply'd to his Parliament for what was proper to be done upon such an Occasion ; but as the War still continues, no Man can pretend to foresee what Changes may soon happen, or how soon his Majesty, in Conjunction with his Allies, may be obliged to give Assistance, where the Interest of this Nation, and the Preservation of the Liberties of *Europe*, may call immediately for it ; and as this Session of Parliament is drawing towards a Close, as this Parliament may probably be soon dissolved, his Majesty will not then have the Opportunity of applying immediately to his Parliament for what may appear to be necessary for the Defence of the Nation, in Case any Change should happen during the Interval of Parliament, which makes it absolutely necessary to furnish his Majesty with such Powers as are now asked for, before this Session breaks up ; and the furnishing him now with such a Power, cannot be in the least more inconvenient for the Nation, than it would have been at the Beginning of the Session.

Ever since the Beginning of this Session, his Majesty, in Conjunction with other Powers, has been endeavouring by Negotiation, to reconcile the jarring Interests of the

the several Powers now at War, and to restore the Tranquillity of *Europe*; if these Negotiations had succeeded, there would have been no Occasion for this Message, there would have been no Occasion for putting this Nation to any additional Expence; and though these Negotiations have not yet had the desired Effect, yet his Majesty's Proposals are not altogether rejected, which makes it still unnecessary to put the Nation to any immediate Expence: This shews his Majesty's tender Care for his People, as well as the Wisdom and Integrity of those he is pleased to advise with upon such Occasions: It shews how unwilling he is to put the Nation to any extraordinary Expence, as long as it can possibly be avoided; but the great Concern his Majesty has for the Peace and Quiet of his People, and the Uncertainty in which the Affairs of *Europe* still continue, lays his Majesty now under a Necessity of thus desiring his Parliament to strengthen his Hands in such a Manner, as that he may be able to provide against any the most distant Dangers, with which this Nation may happen to be threaten'd, after the End of this, and before the Meeting of a new Parliament.

If Gentlemen will but consider the present Circumstances of *Europe* in general, and of that Nation in particular, from the Situation of whose Country we must always have the most to fear, I believe the Necessity of the Motion I am to make, will pretty evidently appear. *France* has now a large Fleet assembled in one of those Ports which lies nearest to this Island: The Ships are all fitted out, and almost ready to put to Sea; and there are, as we are told, several Thousand Men ready to be shipped on Board that Fleet. I believe there is nothing designed against us; but when we know that a large Squadron of *French* Men of War, with an Army of six or eight Thousand veteran Troops is to pass through the *British* Channel, I should think, one in the Station in which I have the Honour so unworthily to serve the Crown, did his Duty but very ill, if upon such an Occasion he did not advise the taking of all necessary Care, for putting the Nation in a proper Posture of Defence.

I repeat it again, I do sincerely believe that the Nation is in Safety, but I do not desire that the Safety of the Nation should entirely depend on my Belief; I have, I think, good Reason to believe, that the *French* Squadron is designed elsewhere; but if from new Counsels, from any Jealousy groundlessly conceived, or any sudden

Q

Change

Change in their Measures, that Squadron should come this Way, I must say, that in our present Situation, I do not know what the Consequence might be ; and therefore I must think, that those who have the Honour to advise the King, have done their Duty in advising him to make this Application to Parliament. Tho' we are not yet engaged in the War, tho' no Power in *Europe* has yet openly declared against us, yet the present Circumstances of *Europe* are such, the present Circumstances of this Nation are such, that, I believe, I might leave the Question to rest wholly upon them ; and I am convinced, that no Gentleman, who considers them impartially, can refuse agreeing to what his Majesty has, by his most gracious Message, desired.

His Majesty is not willing to alarm any foreign Power, by making an unnecessary Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land ; but he desires to have a Power, at least, of providing against any unprovoked Insults : He is resolved not to put the Nation to any unnecessary Expence ; but he desires not to disoblige his Allies, he desires not to give them a mean Opinion of this Nation, by our not putting ourselves in such a Condition as to be able to perform all our Engagements to them. This is all the Power his Majesty asks for ; and this Power, we may depend on it, will not be wantonly used, or used at all, unless the Necessity of our Affairs require it : From the whole of his Majesty's past Conduct, from the Conduct of those who have the Honour to advise him, we may expect, that a Backwardness rather than a Forwardness will be shewed, in putting the Nation to any Expence, or engaging it in any unnecessary Broils.

His Majesty desires only a Power of providing what may appear to be absolutely necessary, for the Defence of the Nation during the Interval of Parliament, when he cannot have their Advice and Assistance, with this Assurance, that every Thing that shall be done in Pursuance of that Power, shall be laid before next Parliament for their Approbation ; to them he promises, that a full Account shall be render'd of the temporary Trust reposed in the Crown. What Danger, then, can there be, in granting the Power now asked for ? Can it be presumed, that any Minister will dare to make, or advise his Majesty to make a bad Use of it, when so strict an Account must be render'd to next Parliament, of every Use that shall be made of it ; yet this is what Gentlemen have been pleased to call a surrendring the Rights,

a delegating

a delegating the Power of Parliament to the Crown, and a laying the Ax to the Root of the Tree: They have likewise been please to insinuate, as if it were the Servants of the Crown that desired to have more Power granted to them. As I am one of the Servants of the Crown, I can answer myself, that I desire no Power; I know the Danger too well of making Use of any Power but that which has the Sanction of Parliament; and where-ever I am entrusted with any such Power, I shall always be ready to account to Parliament for the Use I make of it.

'Tis true, the Power now asked for, may occasion a further Expence to this Nation; but whatever Expence may, in Pursuance of such Powers, be incurred, does not his Majesty, in the Message now before us, promise that it shall be fully and particularly accounted for to next Parliament; and if any Part of that Expence shall appear to have been unnecessarily incurr'd, may not we expect that the next Parliament will severely punish those who have been the Authors of such unnecessary Expence. There is nothing contained in the Message, which can in the least tend to excuse those who shall dare to give such wicked Counsel to his Majesty; and in the Motion I am to make, I shall endeavour to express myself in such a Manner as to obviate any Objection that can be made upon that Account. His Majesty desires only a Power to make such farther Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may be absolutely necessary for the Honour and Defence of his Kingdoms, and to concert such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs may require; and when we see his Majesty expressing himself so cautiously in the Message he has been pleased to send us, can we suppose that any Minister will be hardy enough to advise him, or that he will allow himself to be advised to put the Nation to any Expence that shall not plainly appear to be absolutely necessary?

Now, let us see whether the Message now before us, or the Powers that are thereby demanded, are so extraordinary or so unprecedented as some Gentlemen have been pleased to represent. Tho' I am no great Master of Precedents; tho' I never look into them but when I have immediate Occasion for them, yet I have got three or four in my Hand, which I take to be parallel to the Case now before us. In 1702, her late Majesty Queen Anne sent a Message to this House, acquainting them with the then Situation of Affairs abroad; and upon that Message,

this House, by an Address, gave her Majesty the same Sort of Powers as are now asked for. In 1715, his late Majesty sent a Message to this House, acquainting them of the Danger this Nation was in from Insurrections at Home, and likewise from intended Invasions from Abroad, in Favour of the Pretender; and the very same Powers now asked for, were granted by an Address of this House to his late Majesty. In 1718, during the *Spanish War*, that Power was again renew'd to his late Majesty; and in 1725, the same Powers were again given to the Crown both in the same Method; and therefore it cannot be said that what is now proposed is either new or unprecedented. It is what has often been practised, and what must always be practised, when the Nation happens to be threaten'd with any Danger.

I am afraid I have already taken up too much of your Time, and therefore I shall now add no more; but if any material Objections be made to what I am to propose, I hope that the House will again indulge me to make such Answers to them as I may then think of, or that some other Gentleman, who may, perhaps, be of the same Opinion with me, and better able to answer such Objections than I am, will rise up and do it: Therefore I shall only beg Leave to make you the following Motion.

That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to declare the Duty and Fidelity of this House to his Majesty, and the entire Confidence which they repose in his Royal Care and Endeavours for the Security of his Kingdoms, and for restoring the Peace of Europe, to express the just Sense they have of his Majesty's Attention to the true Interest of his People, in previously taking the Advice and Concurrence of this House at this critical Conjunction, in order to make the necessary Preparations against any Emergencies arising from the present Posture of Affairs in Europe, especially during the Interval of Parliament; to desire his Majesty to make such Augmentation of his Forces by Sea or Land, as his Majesty in his great Wisdom shall judge necessary, and to concert such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs shall require: This House not doubting but that his Majesty will find, that his faithful Commons will at all Times, when the Accounts shall be laid before them, of the extraordinary Expences incurred by his Majesty, for the Honour, Interest, and Defence of his Kingdoms, effectually enable his Majesty to answer and make good the same.

W——m S——n, Esq;

S I R,

I AM glad to find that the Honourable Gentleman has now discover'd a Meaning in his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of this Session, which he could not, it seems, discover the first Day of the Session: He was, or pretended, at least, to be so far from discovering at that Time any such Meaning in his Majesty's Speech as he has now shewn to us, that he seemed very much surpris'd any Gentleman should have the least Apprehensions of such a Meaning. I, as well as several Gentlemen around me, remember well the Gentleman's very Words upon that Occasion; I remember, when I intimated then to the House my Fears, that some such Thing as a Vote of Credit was intended, he said, he believed no Man alive but myself, could dream of any such Thing; but now we are told, that from his Majesty's Manner of expressing himself upon that Occasion, every Gentleman in the House must have expected a Demand of such a Nature as what is now before us: I did, indeed, from what his Majesty said, expect a Demand for a Vote of Credit; but I little expected that that Demand would have been attended with such other extraordinary Demands as are contained in the Message now under Consideration.

As no sufficient Time has been given, for Gentlemen to consider of this extraordinary Demand from the Crown, no Information has been given us by the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, from whom, I believe, every Gentleman in this House expected a full Information, with Respect to the Reasons which the Crown may have for making such a Demand; Gentlemen like me, who are kept at a Distance from the Secrets of the Administration, have no Way left to judge, but according to what appears upon the Face of the Message; and from thence I must judge, that the Demand now made upon us is entirely new, and very extraordinary. As I said before, it is a Demand for the total Surrender of all the Rights of Parliament; for we are now, it seems, to give the King a Power of raising what Money he pleases; we are to give him a Power of raising what Military Force he pleases, without Consent of Parliament: Are not these the two Rights, upon which all the other Rights of Parliament depend? Is not the Controul we have over these two, the only Handle by which we can
or

or dare vindicate any other Right that belongs to us. And after the Surrender of these two, can it be said that we have any Right, or at least that we dare claim any Right but such as the Crown shall vouchsafe from Time to Time to allow us.

The Honourable Gentleman, by Way of Introduction to his Motion, was pleased to say a great deal in Justification of the Message, and of the Powers thereby demanded; but I think the Substance of what he said may be reduced to these three Heads, That it is necessary for us to grant those Powers, That the granting of such is neither new nor unprecedented, and That they may with Safety be granted to the Crown: Every one of which Propositions I must deny, and I think I have good Reason for so doing. The Gentleman, indeed, spoke to Yesterday, of the Necessity of sending such a Message, and I was in Hopes he would have this Day endeavoured to have made that Necessity appear: But this is so far from being the Case, that, I think, he has rather shewn the contrary.

Whether the Powers now asked for be unprecedented or not, it is certain they are extraordinary, and therefore ought never to be granted but when the Nation is in imminent Danger, or in Cases of the utmost Extremity, and for this Reason I did expect we were to have been told this Day, that the Nation was immediately to be invaded by some foreign Power, or that some dangerous Plot had been discovered; and I expected this the more because the short Time that was asked for taking this Affair into our Consideration was refused. However now I find it is quite otherwise, the Gentleman himself says, he believes the Nation to be in Safety, but does not desire its Safety should depend upon his Belief. To this I agree with him; I really do not desire, that the Safety of the Nation should depend upon his Belief; I believe it would be happy for us it did not depend upon his Administration. Tho' at first he seemed willing to terrify us with the *French Squadron*, yet at last he told us he believed it was designed elsewhere; but no Counsels, groundless Jealousies, sudden Changes may bring them this Way. For God's Sake, are Gentlemen serious when they talk at this Rate? Are we to come into such extraordinary Measures, are we to vest an absolute Power in the Crown, because from new Counsels from sudden Changes, the Nation may be in Danger? Is this be a Necessity for our agreeing to what is now proposed?

posed, will not the same Necessity always prevail? Are we not in as great Danger from new Counsels and sudden Changes, when our Neighbours are all at Peace, as when they are all engaged in a bloody War, and every one of them courting us, either for our Assistance, or for a Neutrality? Nay, for this Reason, I think we are now in greater Security than we can ever propose to be in Time of the most profound Tranquillity; and therefore, if we now agree to the granting of such Powers, and in such an extraordinary Method too, I shall expect to see them demanded from every Session of Parliament for the future: I shall never expect to see them refused.

I say, in such an extraordinary Method too; for suppose it could be alledged that we should probably be exposed to some great Danger, in a Month or six Weeks hence, which might make it necessary to grant such Powers to the Crown; yet that would be no Reason for doing it in such an extraordinary Manner: We would, in such a Case, have Time to do it in a regular Parliamentary Way, and where-ever that can be done, it ought to be done. There can be no Reason, there can be no Excuse for thus leaping over all the Forms and Methods of Proceeding in Parliament; but when the Danger is so near at Hand, that the providing against it cannot admit of such Delays. The Honourable Gentleman says, our Circumstances are much the same now, as they were at the Beginning of the Session; therefore, if we are now in Danger, we were then in the same Danger: Why then were we not made acquainted with it at that Time? If we had, we could have provided against it in a regular Manner. But suppose that we had then done it in this irregular Manner, does the Gentleman think, as he pretends, that there is no greater Inconvenience in lodging an unlimited Power in the Hands of the Crown at the Beginning of a Session than at the End of it, or perhaps at the End of a Parliament? The contrary is evident; while the Parliament continues sitting after such Power granted, they will, nevertheless, be a Check upon the Use of that Power; they may recall it before it be too late; but when an expiring Session, much more an expiring Parliament, grants such a Power, it may, before the next Session, or the next Parliament is allow'd to meet, be extended beyond Controul.

The Honourable Gentleman told us, that there have been Negotiations on Foot; that there are Negotiations on Foot; 'tis true, they have not, he says, yet had the desired

desired Success, but neither have they been rejected. That his Majesty is willing to wait the Result of these Negotiations, being resolved to delay putting his People to any Expence, as long as it can be avoided. Upon this he applauded his Majesty's tender Care for his Subjects, and took Care to assume great Merit to himself in advising this Delay. Let us suppose this Parliament dissolved; suppose these Negotiations actually rejected; surely we cannot suppose any Power in *Europe* so mad or so unjust as to attack his Majesty for endeavouring to reconcile the Differences between them and their Enemies; and it is impossible to suppose that the Affairs of *Europe* can, upon the rejecting of such Negotiations, take such a sudden Turn, as may inevitably oblige his Majesty to declare of one Side or the other, before it be possible for the new Parliament to meet: This, I say, is impossible to suppose; and it is as impossible to suppose, that any of the Powers now engaged in War, will attempt to invade or insult this Nation, 'till his Majesty has openly declared against them. The Gentleman says, that his Majesty has all along endeavoured not to give any just Cause of Alarm to any foreign Power, nor to disoblige any Ally: I am afraid, if we disoblige any Power in *Europe*, we must disoblige an Ally: However, as his Majesty has, during the Session of Parliament, been so cautious, it is not to be doubted but that he will continue to be as cautious, during the Interval of Parliament: So that, upon the whole, I must think, that every Thing the Honourable Gentleman said, tended to prove, that we are not at present under the least Necessity of granting the Powers demanded.

Now, give me Leave to examine the Precedents the Honourable Gentleman was pleased to mention, and which he said were exactly parallel to the Case in Hand. I do not know, indeed, but from the four Cases he mentioned taken jointly, we may make up some Sort of Precedent for the present; but I am very sure, that one of them taken separately is any Way parallel to the present. As to that in 1702, it is quite different from this, both as to the Manner of sending it, as to the Time of its being sent, and as to the Powers that were either asked or given: As to the Manner of sending it appears, that that great and good Princess, Queen *Anne*, in the very Message which she sent, acquainted the House, that she had commanded the several Letters and Representations passed between her and the States-Gen-

ral, upon the Subject Matter of the Message, to be therewith transmitted to the House. So far was she from desiring her Parliament to grant, only because she thought fit to ask; that on the contrary, she laid the whole of her foreign Transactions before them, and thereby made them Judges of what ought to be done upon that Emergency; and I must say, it would be no Discredit for the best and wisest of her Successors, to imitate her Royal Example in this, as well as in most of the other Measures of her glorious Reign.

Then as to the Time of sending that Message: We were then actually engaged in the War, and one of our Allies was in the most imminent Danger of being swallow'd up by our most inveterate Enemy; an Enemy, who but a little before had put the greatest Affront upon this Nation, by setting up a Pretender, and acknowledging him in the most publick Manner, as the only rightful King of these Realms. It was not then said, that we or our Allies might, from new Counsels, and sudden Changes, be in Danger: It was said, it was not only said, but shewn to the House in the most authentick Manner, that one of our Allies was actually then in imminent Danger. And further, that Message was not sent to the House at the End of a Session, and after most of the Members were gone into the Country; it was sent in the very middle of the Session, and at a Time when it must be supposed that the House was full.

But as to the Powers then demanded or granted, I am surprized to hear it said, that that Case is parallel to the present. Her Majesty asked no Powers; she only told, and shew'd the House, what her Allies desired and pray'd; but she did not pretend by her Message to direct the House what they were to do; she did not desire them to do any Thing, but only said, she doubted not but they would take such Measures upon that Occasion, as might be most for the Honour and Advantage of her Majesty, the Safety of her Kingdoms, and the necessary Support of her Allies: And in Consequence of this, what was done? This House was very far from granting to her Majesty a Power of augmenting her Forces both by Sea and Land, as much as she pleased; a Power of raising and keeping up in this Nation as numerous an Army as she pleased; a Power of running the Nation in Debt as much as she pleased; a Power of entering into, and concluding whatever Negotiations or Treaties she should think proper. No, they only told her, that if her Majesty

R

should

should think it necessary to enter into any further Negotiations for encreasing the Forces which were to act in Conjunction with the Forces of the States-General, that House would enable her Majesty to make good the same; and even to this so particular, this so much limited Grant, they add this express Condition, that *England* should not be charged with the Pay of such additional Troops, but from the Day when a Stop should be made by the States-General to all Correspondence, Trade, and Commerce with *France* and *Spain*: But this Condition was never perform'd; the additional Troops were taken into our Pay, but no such Stop was ever made by the States-General; which shews how little we ought to depend upon the Conditions annexed to, or implied in any Grant we make, or in any Power we give.

As to the Messages sent to this House in the Years 1715 and 1718, they are very far from being Precedents for the present. At the Time of the first, there was an Insurrection in a Manner actually broke out, and an Invasion expected; the Nation was then in imminent Danger, the Government was expos'd to the Danger of being immediately overturn'd: This the King in his Message acquainted the House of, and this was the Reason for their coming to the Resolution they then did: But even in that Time of imminent Danger, this House neither was desired, nor did they condescend to grant to his late Majesty such extensive Powers, as are now demanded and propos'd to be granted. They desired his Majesty, indeed, to augment his Forces both by Sea and Land, which, considering the small Number of regular Forces we had then in the Kingdom, was much more reasonable than the same Power can now appear to be, even suppose we were threaten'd with the like Danger; but it was not then so much as desired, that the House should before-hand approve of all the Negotiations and Treaties, which his Majesty, or rather his Ministers, should think proper to enter into, or to conclude; and the Power then granted to his Majesty was less dangerous, because neither the Parliament, nor the Session of Parliament, was then drawing towards a Close; but on the contrary, his late Majesty was so good as to continue the same Session of Parliament, 'till the Danger the Nation was threaten'd with was entirely over; so that the Parliament had at any Time an Opportunity, and certainly would have put a Check to the Ministers of State, if they, or any of them, had attempted to have made
a wrong

a wrong Use of that Power which the Parliament had granted to his Majesty. The Powers granted in 1718, were granted for the same Cause. His Majesty in his Speech acquainted his Parliament, that the Nation was in Danger of being invaded by a foreign Power; and it actually would have been invaded, if the *Spanish* Fleet had not met with a Disaster at Sea; so that neither of these Cases can be any Way consider'd as parallel to the present.

'Tis true, the other Precedent quoted by the Honourable Gentleman, may be look'd upon as some Way parallel to the present: We were then in a sort of State which I cannot give a Name to; it was neither a Time of War, nor a Time of Peace; but I do not remember it was so much as pretended, that the Nation was threaten'd with imminent Danger; yet we then did somewhat like what we are now desired to do; we granted away Millions for ought we knew, in the dark, without any Cause or Reason assigned. But I must observe, that that Message happen'd since the Honourable Gentleman's Return to Power, and therefore may be supposed to have been advised by the same Persons, and to have proceeded from the same Councils with the present; yet they were a little more modest at that Time: It could not be then properly said, that the Nation was in a State of absolute Tranquillity; yet nevertheless the Honourable Gentleman was so modest, as to ask only for a Power to make an Addition to the Number of Seamen, and to negotiate and make Treaties; he did not so much as ask for a Power to raise, and keep up in this Nation in a Time of Peace, whatever Number of Land-Forces he might pretend to think necessary. Thus we see the Honourable Gentleman improves upon his last Precedent, and it is natural to suppose he will likewise improve upon this; therefore, if all the Powers now asked for be granted, as I do not know any other Power his Majesty can want from his Parliament, but that of making Laws; I shall expect that, besides the Powers now asked for, there will be, in the next Message from the Crown, a Demand for empowering his Majesty to make or repeal, continue or suspend, alter, explain, or amend, such Laws, and in such a Manner, as he shall think absolutely necessary for the Safety of the Nation. This, I say, is the only further Grant that is necessary for us to make in order to establish by a Resolution of both Houses the absolute Power of the Crown; and with Respect to the Liberties

of the Nation, I think it is much the same, whether we grant this Power to the Crown, or put the Crown in a Capacity of assuming it whenever they have a Mind, which will certainly be the Consequence of the Resolution now proposed.

This, Sir, naturally leads me to the other Doctrine which the Honourable Gentleman has endeavoured to establish; that we may with Safety grant to the Crown the Powers now asked for. As to his present Majesty, he is a Prince of so much Goodness and Wisdom, and is endow'd with so many noble and princely Qualifications, that we may safely, not only trust him with the Powers now demanded; but we may surrender and lay down the whole of our Rights and Liberties at the Foot of the Throne; but as this would be a most dangerous Precedent, and might be made a most wicked Use of in Times to come, the same Wisdom and Generosity, which makes it safe for us to put so much Trust in his present Majesty, would render Persons capable of so much mean and low Complaisance, most despicable in his Majesty's Eyes. He might justly say of us, what the Roman Emperor said of that Senate, which was so complaisant as to refuse nothing he asked; *O Homines servire paratos!* And his Majesty would have as much Reason to be quite tired with our fawning Complaisance, as that Emperor is by the Historian represented to have been with the fawning Complaisance of the Roman Senate. We all know, how difficult it is to refuse to the King upon the Throne those Favours or Powers which have been granted to his Predecessor; and therefore it has always been the established Maxim of every honest Man, who had a Seat in either House of Parliament, not to grant a good King those Powers, which a bad King might make an ill Use of; and surely, if a bad King were trusted with a Power of raising Land-Forces at Discretion, he might easily turn it to the utter Subversion of all the Liberties and Privileges of the People of this Kingdom.

But with Respect to the Powers now asked, our Safety is, it seems, to be secured by this, that a particular Account is to be render'd to next Parliament of whatever may be done, and of all the additional Expence that may be incurred, in Pursuance of these Powers. I have been so often deceived by Ministerial Promises, and Experience has so fully convinced me, that we are never to expect any such Account in a fair and regular Manner, that I have no Faith in, nor any Dependence upon such Promises.

Promises : Both I and other Gentlemen have often called for such Accounts, but we have always been told, That either Matters were not ripe for laying such Accounts before Parliament, or that the Secrets of the Government were not to be revealed ; and the highest Satisfaction we could ever get upon such Occasions, was to be told, that the Expences had been necessarily incurred on Account of foreign and secret Services : It has always been pretended there was a Necessity for such Expence, but the Parliament was never to be let into the Secret from whence that Necessity arose ; we are always, it seems, to believe so, upon the bare Word of our honest and wise Ministers ; and I am very apt to believe, that the same Confidence and Resignation will be required from the next Parliament.

The Gentleman said he might leave the Question to rest wholly upon our present Circumstances : It may be so ; but I wish he had told us what these Circumstances are. He said they were the same they were at the Beginning of the Session ; not altogether the same ; they were the same in general, but by Time, and Variations in foreign Councils, an Alteration might be made in them. I must say, the House is very much obliged to the Honourable Gentleman for giving us so much Satisfaction ; and from this Intelligence we shall certainly be able to give our Friends in the Country a most satisfactory Account, and a most convincing Reason for what we have done. 'Tis true, they have been made believe that they are to pay but two Shillings in the Pound Land-Tax ; but we can tell them, that the Honourable Gentleman gave us so particular an Account of our Circumstances, and of the Danger the Nation was exposed to ; that we thought proper to leave it to his Discretion, whether the Nation should be charged with six Shillings, or perhaps with nineteen Shillings in the Pound Land-Tax ; and by his past Conduct, the Nation is so fully convinced of his Wisdom and Sincerity, that they will certainly approve of what we have done.

Sir, I have troubled you too long ; I think I have shewn that the Resolution proposed is neither necessary nor safe, nor founded upon any Precedent : But quoting of Precedents signifies nothing ; suppose there were Precedents exactly parallel to the present Case, it would be no Argument for our agreeing to what is proposed. There are but too many Precedents which resemble it a little ; it is now high Time to put a Stop to the Practice,

tice, and I am sure it will be much more for our Honour to make a Precedent where such a Demand has been refused, otherwise the Thing may come to be familiar: It may become an usual Custom to vest the Crown with such a Power at the End of every Parliament; so that all our succeeding Parliaments may come to be chosen under the Influence of absolute Power; and then, neither the Honourable Gentleman, nor any of his Successors in Office, needs desire to do any Thing without the previous Sanction of Parliament; for it is not to be supposed that a Parliament under the Influence of arbitrary Power, will ever refuse their Sanction, when the Minister for the Time being pleases to demand it; in which Case, I believe, every Gentleman will agree with me, that the Parliament will be altogether useless, it will serve for nothing but to make our Ministers the more daring, and the Oppressions of the People the more grievous; and therefore I am against the Question.

Sir F——s R——n spoke next for the Question; after him the Lord C——ne spoke against it; and then E——d D——y, Esq; stood up and observed, that the Honourable Gentleman who open'd the Debate, had made as artful a Speech in Favour of Arbitrary Power as ever he had heard any where; and had said a great deal more in Recommendation of such a Government, than he ever expected to have heard within those Walls. After enlarging on the Subject, 'Sir, says he, I would be
' glad to know from that Gentleman, or any other,
' what Necessity there is for this Session's breaking up
' so soon, or if there is any Necessity for dissolving this
' Parliament in a few Days? Our Time does not expire
' 'till *October* next; and however necessary our Presence
' may be in the Country, if the Nation be in any Danger,
' if there be any Reason that the Nation may soon
' be in Danger, I am sure every Gentleman will think
' it his Duty to remain in Town, or to return to Town,
' in Order to attend the Service of his Country in Parliament.

Ph——p G——n, Esq; spoke next against the Question, H——y P——m, Esq; for it, Th——s P——r against it, H——ce W——le, Esq; and S——l T——ell, Esq; in Favour of it; after them the Lord T——l spoke against it, and then Sir W——m W——m 'rose up and spoke to this Effect;

Sir W——m W——m.

S I R,

AS I find myself at present very much out of Order, I am very unfit to offer my Opinion on so important a Question: However, I must beg Leave to trouble you a little on this Occasion, because if what is now proposed should be agreed to, I do not know but it may be the last Time I shall ever have an Opportunity of delivering my Opinion as a Member of this House.

With me, it is a Matter of no Consequence, whether the Proposition now made to us be founded on Precedents or not; for if any Thing like what is proposed has been done, I am of Opinion, that as often as it has been done it has been wrong done, and the oftner it is done it will still be the worse: But to tell us, that the only two Points now under our Consideration is, Whether extraordinary Powers have upon any Occasion been granted to the Crown; and in what Method these Powers have been granted? is very extraordinary: For supposing it right to grant extraordinary Powers by an extraordinary Method upon some Occasions, certainly we are, upon all such Occasions, to consider the Reasons for granting such Powers, and the Nature of the Powers to be granted; and if, upon the present Occasion, the Powers proposed to be granted are much more extensive than those formerly granted, and the Reasons for granting them not near so strong as upon former Occasions, no former Precedent can give any Authority for doing what is now proposed.

We are told of the Naval Armaments of *France*; but I would gladly know what we have done to deserve any Insult from that Nation. If contributing to throw the Affairs of *Europe* into their present Situation, by which the House of *Bourbon* has been again put into a Condition of pulling down the overgrown Power of the House of *Austria*, which so greatly alarmed us some Years ago; if this, I say, deserves any Insult from *France*, I do not know but we may deserve it: But if this were true, while we have an Army of 18000 Men in this Kingdom, and 12000 in *Ireland*, all ready at our Call, and a more powerful Fleet than any the *French* can put to Sea, what have we to fear from five or six thousand *French*, if they were actually landed in the Island. If we had not a Regiment in the Kingdom, we could not have any Thing to fear from so inconsiderable a Number. And can we suppose the *French* such Fools as to make so ridiculous an Attempt,

Attempt, by which they must expect to draw the immediate Vengeance of this Nation upon them?

When our Armies or our Fleets are to be augmented, when we are to enter into expensive Negotiations, or when we are desired to put extraordinary Powers into the Hands of the Government, for Purposes not to be told, I have often observed, that some Gentlemen are, upon such Occasions, mighty apt to raise Phantoms, and to magnify imaginary Dangers, from whence they argue for the Necessity of providing against them as if they were real: We are then to be afraid of Invasions and Insults from almost every Power in *Europe*; but when upon other Occasions they are told what is too true, that the Nation is in a most dangerous and distressed Condition, they then insist upon it that we are in the most happy Situation, that our Trade is in a flourishing State, and that we are in Friendship with, or at least have no Diffidence of any foreign Power whatsoever.

But now it seems, we must grant more extensive Powers to the Crown than were ever granted by any Parliament, tho' it cannot be so much as pretended that we are in any immediate Danger; for even those Gentlemen who talk of the Necessity of granting such Powers, tell us, that we are in the same Circumstances we were in at the Beginning of the Session: 'Tis true we were not told what Circumstances we were then in, nor are we told what Circumstances we are now in: For this we must depend upon the Assertion of an honourable Gentleman; and even he has told us, that he does not believe we are in any Danger, but does not desire the Safety of the Nation to depend on his Belief. God forbid it should; but if we thus, upon his bare Word, give up all the Rights in Parliament, and in some measure destroy the Necessity of holding any Parliament for the future, I must say, that we shall from that Moment leave the Safety of the Nation, and the Preservation of our Constitution, to depend very much upon his Management: This is what I shall never agree to: It is what I hope no Parliament will ever agree to; and therefore if we are in any Danger, or if we are like to be in any Danger, let us know our Danger from something else but his bare Assertion, and then I doubt not but the Wisdom of Parliament will provide effectually against it.

We are seldom indeed told much, we are never told Things but by Halves; but if what we are told be true, if his Majesty has hitherto taken no Share in the War,

we cannot be in any immediate Danger. However, tho' his Majesty, as King of *Great Britain*, may not have taken any Share in the War, yet he certainly has, as Elector of *Hanover*; and as this Nation has, by some Fatality or another, been generally engaged in the same Quarrel which our King, as Elector of *Hanover*, espoused, if the same Thing should again happen, this Nation may then indeed come to be threaten'd with some Danger or Insult; but in such a Case it is not necessary for us to provide against such a distant and such a conditional Danger, in the extraordinary Method now proposed: Why may we not sit for a few Months longer, and do in a regular Parliamentary Way whatever may seem necessary on that Occasion? When we are all together we make of ourselves a pretty good Battalion; it cannot be said but that we are well Officer'd, and a little Time might probably bring us to turn to the Right and Left, and to perform all the other Parts of Exercise by Beat of Drum; but this is a serious Subject, and therefore I ask Pardon.

We have been told, that all that is now asked is only to put a Confidence in his Majesty. No, it is to put a Confidence in his Ministers, and in them I have none; no not even tho' the Hon. Person on the Floor has assured us, that no wanton or bad Use shall be made of it; for if we once grant the Power, we cannot tell how it may be used, nor can we be assured that any future Parliament will have it in their Power to call those to an Account, who may make a wrong or a wicked Use of it: We are not to expect *Sylla's* in every Age; absolute Power is a bewitching Possession, and seldom voluntarily resigned. The same Hon. Person asked us, if the past Conduct of the Administration did not promise rather a Backwardness than a Forwardness in making Use of this Power? I must confess, that a Backwardness has been shewn by them in Cases where it was very wrong to shew any such Thing: When repeated Insults have been offer'd to the Nation; when our Merchants have been pillaged, and our Sailors murdered, and that for Years together, they have shewn a mean and dishonourable Backwardness, and therefore I think we have good Reason to suspect that the same Imprudence may make them unwisely rash, and unseasonably forward in engaging in Disputes where the Interest of the Nation may call upon them to be at least neutral.

As all the principal Powers of *Europe* are now engaged in a bloody War one against another, and as we have not

yet taken any Share in that War, the present Circumstances of *Europe* are to me a most evident Proof, that we neither are nor can be in any Danger as long as we continue in the same Situation; and as we have no contrary Evidence, but what appears upon the general Ministerial Message, now under our Consideration, I do not see how we can possibly form a Pretence for agreeing to what is now asked of us: We ought, and I hope we always will shew, as great a Deference to the Crown as becometh the freeborn Subjects of *Britain*; but considering how often the Crown has, upon former Occasions, been induced to assert for Truth, what Time the Discoverer of Secrets, has made appear not to be true: Considering that we are to look upon this, as well as all other such Messages, as proceeding from the Advice and suggestion of Ministers; and when we reflect upon former Assertions which came to Parliament, by the Advice and upon the Suggestion of the very same Persons, we cannot be justified in delegating so great a Power upon so slight an Evidence; an Evidence which Time may hereafter, as it has before done, shew to be entirely false.

I could have added a great deal more upon this Subject, but I find myself so bad, Sir, I can proceed no further, only shall take this Opportunity, this last Opportunity, I'm afraid, of declaring my Attachment to the Liberties and the Constitution of my Country, by declaring my Aversion to the Proposition now before us.

Sir *W—m Y—ge* then spoke for the Question, and Sir *J—n B—d* against it.

Mr. *C ———r* of the *E ———r*, again.

S I R,

IN the Station in which I have the Honour to serve the King, I cannot sit still when I hear the Crown reflected on in the Manner it has been. I am, in Justice to the Memory of the late King, and in Duty to the present, obliged to take Notice of what happened to fall from the Hon. Gentlemen under the Gallery. His late Majesty's Assertion, relating to the two secret Articles agreed on between two foreign Powers, which that Gentleman took Notice of, and which he was pleased to say appeared afterwards not to be true, was as well founded, and as true an Assertion as ever came from the Crown. 'Tis true indeed, *Monf. Palm*, the Imperial Minister then at this Court, denied that there were any such secret Articles in the Treaty; but when we have the Word of the

the

the late King from the Throne on one Side, and the Denial of a foreign Minister, a Minister of inferior Rank too, upon the other, I must say that in such a Case, to pretend to be at a Loss which to give most Credit to, is treating the Memory of our late Sovereign with very great Indignity; and I am sure, if Time has discovered any Thing, it has discover'd the contrary of what the Hon. Gentleman pretends. Do not we all know that Gibraltar was soon after actually besieged, and if proper Care had not been taken to prevent it, every Thing else that was stipulated by these secret Articles would as certainly have been undertaken. The other Project, if it had been undertaken, would, I believe, have met with the same Success; but I am persuaded there are some who are sorry it was not accomplished.

Gentlemen talk of misinforming, and imposing on the Crown; but in that Case it was not his late Majesty's Ministers here who informed him, it was he that informed them of that Transaction: He had his Information at Hanover, and his Information was so good that he could not be deceived: I know as well, and am as certain that there were such Articles, as those very Persons who drew up the Articles. I am sorry I have been provoked to say so much. To talk of these Things may now be improper, and perhaps I cannot justify myself in having said so much, yet in Justice to the late King, I think I could say no less.

As to the Question itself, I have heard no Objections made, but what have been fully answered by other Gentlemen, therefore shall not trouble you further upon it, but only to declare, that as this Nation may be exposed to great Dangers during the Interval of Parliament, I think it absolutely necessary to comply with his Majesty's Message; and as an Account is to be rendered no next Parliament, and that Parliament must meet some Time next Winter, if not sooner, the Powers now to be granted cannot, in that Time, produce any bad Consequences; but may produce very good Effects, by giving a due Weight to any Proposals his Majesty in Conjunction with his Allies, may think proper to make to the Powers now engaged in War.

W——m P——y, Esq;

S I R,

As it is now so late, and as so many unanswerable Objections have been already made to the Proposition now before us, I should not have stood up to give you any

S 2

Trouble,

Trouble, but I think the Question of so great Moment, that I ought to testify my Aversion to it by something more than a bare Negative. As to the Danger from the *French Fleet*, it is either too near to be provided against by any Thing that can be done in Consequence of this Message; or it is so remote, that it may be provided against in a regular Manner: This has already been taken Notice of, and has not yet received any Answer. But I must further observe, that if there had ever been any Ground to suspect, that the *French Fleet* was designed against this Island, their not coming hither before now, is sufficient to remove any Jealousy that might have been entertained that Way. They might have had Ships sufficient to have transported 5 or 6000 Men to this Island, and those Troops might have been embarked, nay, and even landed in this Island, long before this Time; and therefore their Fleet's waiting so long in their Harbour, is a plain Demonstration, that they are not designed against this Island, but against a Place, which they cannot approach so early in the Spring.

It is something very surprising to me, that upon the present Occasion we should be told what the *Dutch* have done, or rather, indeed, what they have not done. When they make any Reduction of their Forces, in Order to save publick Expence, and to spare their People, we are then told, that their Example can be no Rule for us: But if they make any necessary Addition to their Land Forces, in order to put themselves in a Posture of Defence against Dangers, which we, from the Difference of our Situation, have not the least Reason to apprehend, then we are told we ought to follow their Example: But in the present Case, even the Example of the *Dutch* can be no Argument: We have already done more than they have done, we have not only resolved to keep up the same Number of Land Forces, which certainly would not have, if the Tranquility of *Europe* had remained undisturbed; but we have already made a very large Addition to the Number of our Seamen; an Addition which amounts to a greater Number of Men, than that Number of Land Forces which they are only resolved to reduce; so that tho' we be not near so much exposed to the Danger as the *Dutch*, yet we have already very far exceeded them in the Expence we have put ourselves to on account of the War.

We are next told, that the Towns in *Flanders* are in a very bad Situation, and no Way provided for Defence.

For

For God's Sake, are we thus to be eternally the Dupes of Europe? If the Emperor, or any other Power, neglects to keep their fortify'd Places in a proper Posture of Defence, must we answer for that Neglect? Are we for the Sake of preserving the Ballance of Power in Europe, to undertake at our own Charges to defend every Power in Europe, and to prevent their being invaded or conquer'd by any of their neighbouring Powers? Such Arguments I should think ridiculous, if made Use of for persuading us to put ourselves to the least additional Expence; but they are much more so, when they are the only Arguments made Use of, for prevailing with us to make a total Surrender of our Liberties. Surely Gentlemen must think this House mighty ready to resign the Liberties of their Country, when they make such Propositions, and support them by such Arguments.

To me it really appears as if this Proposition had been made by Way of Experiment, to see what Lengths we might be prevailed on to go; and if we agree to it, I am sure it is what we can never answer for to ourselves, our Constituents, or our Posterity: Nay, we cannot answer for it, even to his Majesty himself; for it is a destroying of the Rights of Parliament; and as his Majesty's Right to the Crown is founded on the Rights of Parliament, whatever tends to the Destruction of the one, must tend to the Destruction of the other. The Parliament is the Guardian of the Crown, as well as of the People. We are to protect the People in the Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges; we are likewise to protect the Crown against wicked and evil Counsellors; and, in my Opinion, the Message now before us, and the Proposition now made to us, are of such an extraordinary Nature, that if the Spirit of Liberty, that Spirit which brought about the Revolution, and established the present Family upon the Throne, is not already quite extinguished in this Nation, we may soon expect to see a Parliament, that will not only censure, but condemn and punish those who have been the chief Advisers of such a Measure.

Mr. S——r G——l spoke next for the Question, after him, Sir J——n H——d C——n spoke against it, and then the Question was put, which, upon a Division, was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 248 to 147.

The Address was accordingly drawn up, and presented to his Majesty by the whole House, on Monday the first Day

Day of *April*; to which his Majesty returned, a Most Gracious Answer.

On the 3d of *April*, the Order of the Day (for the House of Commons to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, on the Bill for enabling his Majesty to issue and apply a certain Sum (1,200,000 *l.*) therein to be mentioned, out of the Sinking Fund) being read, a Motion was made, that the said Committee might have Power to receive a Clause of Appropriation, with a Power to his Majesty to apply such Sums of Money, as should be necessary for or towards the Increase of the Expences that should arise by the Augmentation of his Majesty's Forces by Sea or Land, as his Majesty in his great Wisdom should judge necessary make, and for concerting such Measures as the Exigency of his Affairs might require.

This appropriating and unappropriating Clause (as it was called by some Gentlemen) stood great Debates, and was strenuously opposed in both Houses; but it was agreed to in the End by a Majority, and stands Part of that Bill, afterwards passed into a Law.

On Monday the 8th Day of *April*, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the House, that he had a Message from his Majesty to that House, signed by his Majesty; which he presented to the House, and the same being read by Mr. Speaker, was as followeth, *viz.*

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty, having been pleased to direct Letters Patent to be passed under the Great Seal of *Great Britain*, for settling on the Princess Royal an Annuity of 5000 *l. per Ann.* as a Mark of his Royal Favour and Affection to her, and the Laws now in Being restraining his Majesty from granting the same for any longer Term than his own Life, hopes he shall be enabled to make such Grant for the Life of the said Princess Royal, in Case she shall survive his Majesty, and recommends the Consideration thereof to this House.

Which Message was immediately taken into Consideration, and Leave was given to bring in a Bill in Pursuance of the same.

On Tuesday the 16th Day of *April*, his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the following Publick Bills, *viz.*

An Act for granting an Aid to his Majesty, by a Land-Tax to be raised in Great Britain, for the Service of the Year 1734.

An Act for enabling his Majesty to apply the Sum of 1,100,000 l. out of the Sinking Fund, for the Service of the Year 1734, and for appropriating the Supplies granted this Session of Parliament.

An Act to enable his Majesty to continue and settle an Annuity of 5000 l. on the Princess Royal, during the Term of her natural Life, in Case she shall survive his Majesty.

An Act for ascertaining the Duties upon Arrack; and for giving further Time to Clerks and Apprentices to pay Duties omitted to be paid for their Indentures and Contracts.

An Act for the better regulating the Election of Members to serve in the House of Commons, for that Part of Great Britain called Scotland; and for incapacitating the Judges of the Court of Session, Court of Justiciary, and Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, to be elected, or to sit or vote as Members of the House of Commons.

An Act to prevent the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing.

An Act to indemnify Persons, who have omitted to qualify themselves for Employments or Offices by taking the Oaths, and making and subscribing the Declaration against Transubstantiation, and receiving the Sacrament; and to allow them further Time for that Purpose; and to enable the Vice-Chancellor of the University and Mayor of the Town of Cambridge, to act as Justices of the Peace for the County of Cambridge, notwithstanding the Act for the further Qualification of Justices of the Peace.

An Act to explain an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, intituled, An Act for converting a further Part of the Capital Stock of the South-Sea Company into Annuities redeemable by Parliament, and for settling the remaining Part of the said Stock in the said Company, so far as the said Act relates to the paying off the Bonds of the said Company.

An Act to settle how far Owners of Ships shall be answerable for the Acts of the Masters or Mariners.

An Act for naturalizing the Most Serene Prince William Charles Henry Friso, Prince of Orange and Nassau.

An Act for the Application and Disposal of the Residue of the Money raised by Way of Lottery, on the Credit of an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, for the Relief of such Sufferers in the Charitable Corporation as are Objects of

of Compassion, according to the Descriptions therein mentioned.

An Act for the Revival of an Act made in the thirteenth Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King George I. entitled, An Act for the free Importation of Cochineal during the Time therein limited ; and also for the free Importation of Indigo.

An Act for the more effectual preventing the clandestine Importation of foreign Hops into Great Britain and Ireland and to prevent the adulterating or sophisticating of Hops to alter the Colour or Scent thereof.

An Act for the more effectual Punishment of Assaults with Intent to commit Robbery.

An Act for the more easy Redemption and Foreclosure of Mortgages.

An Act for the more effectual preventing the forging the Acceptance of Bills of Exchange, or the Numbers or principal Sums of accountable Receipts for Notes, Bills, or other Securities for Payment of Money, or Warrants or Orders for Payment of Money, or Delivery of Goods.

An Act for raising the Militia of that Part of Great Britain called England, although the Month's Pay formerly advanced be not repaid ; and for making the Militia within the same more useful.

An Act to explain and make more effectual the Laws in Being, to oblige the Possessors of Lands adjacent to the common Highways, to cut and keep low such Hedges as are adjoining to the said Highways.

And to 22 private Bills.

After which, his Majesty made the following most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Give you my hearty Thanks for the great Dispatches you have given to the publick Business, and for the Confidence you have reposed in me, for the Honour and Security of my Kingdom. So short a Session, at so critical a Conjecture, concluded with so much Unanimity and so just a Regard for the true Interest of the Nation will give great Weight and Credit to all our Transactions and procure that Respect and Dependence upon the great Council of this Nation, which are so necessary to support the Honour and Interest of Great Britain, both at Home and Abroad,

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of House of Commons,

I must acknowledge in a particular Manner the Zeal and Readiness, which you have shewn in raising in so effectual a Manner, the necessary Supplies for the Service of the Year. The Provision you have made for paying off great Part of the Debt of the Navy, a Debt necessarily and unavoidably incurred, and carrying a higher Interest than the old National Debt, and which being at a Discount, increased the Charge and Expence in all Contracts of the Navy and Victualling, must certainly be thought of singular Service to the Publick.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Time limited for the Expiration of this Parliament drawing near, I have resolved forthwith to issue my Proclamation for the dissolving of it, and for calling a new Parliament; that the Inconveniencies unavoidably attending a general Election may be put an End to as soon as possible. But I should think myself inexcusable, if I parted with this Parliament, without doing them the Justice to acknowledge the many signal Proofs, they have given thro' the Course of seven Years, of their Duty, Fidelity, and Attachment to my Person and Government, and their constant Regard to the true Interest of their Country.

The Prosperity and Glory of my Reign depend upon the Affection and Happiness of my People; upon my preserving to them all their legal Rights and Privileges, as established under the present Settlement of the Crown in the Protestant Line. A due Execution and strict Observance of the Laws, are the best and only Security both to Sovereign and Subject: Their Interest is mutual and inseparable; and their Endeavours for the Support of each other, ought to be equal and reciprocal: Any Infringement or Encroachment upon the Rights of either, is a Diminution of the Strength of both, which kept within their due Bounds and Limits, make that just Balance, which is necessary for the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and for the Protection and Prosperity of the People: What depends upon me, shall, on my Part, be religiously kept and observed; and I make no Doubt of receiving the just Returns of Duty and Gratitude from them.

I must in a particular Manner recommend it to you, and from your known Affection do expect, that you will use your best Endeavours to heal the unhappy Divisions of the Nation, and to reconcile the Minds of all, who truly and sincerely wish the Safety and Welfare of the

T

Kingdom.

Kingdom. It would be the greatest Satisfaction to me to see a perfect Harmony restored among them, that have one and the same Principle at Heart; that there might be no Distinction, but of such as mean the Support of our present happy Constitution in Church and State, and such as wish to subvert both. This is the only Distinction that ought to prevail in this Country, where the Interest of the King and People is one and the same, and where they cannot subsist but by doing so. If Religion, Liberty, and Property, were never at any Time more fully enjoy'd, without not only any Attempt, but even a Shadow of a Design, to alter or invade them; let not these Sacred Names be made Use of, as artful and plausible Pretences, to undermine the present Establishment, under which alone they can be safe.

I have nothing to wish, but that my People may not be misguided. I appeal to their own Consciences for my Conduct, and hope, the Providence of God will direct them in the Choice of such Representatives, as are most fit to be trusted with the Care and Preservation of the Protestant Religion, the present Establishment, and all the Religious and Civil Rights of *Great Britain*.

And afterwards the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the fourteenth Day of May next, to be then here held; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the fourteenth Day of May next.

On the 18th of *April*, 1734, a Proclamation was published for dissolving the Parliament, and Writs were issued for electing new Members, returnable the 13th of *June* following: But by Means of several Prorogations, the new Parliament did not meet to do Business 'till the 14th of *January*, 1734-5, when his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and being in his Royal Robes, seated on the Throne with the usual Solemnity, Sir *Cha. Dalton*, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod was sent with a Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, commanding their Attendance in the House of Peers: The Commons being come thither, his Majesty's Pleasure was signify'd to them by the Lord Chancellor, that they should

should return to their House and chuse a Speaker, and present him to his Majesty on the 23d of the same Month. They returned accordingly, and unanimously chose the Right Hon. *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; to be their Speaker.

On the 23d, his Majesty went to the House of Peers, where he open'd the Session of Parliament with the following Most Gracious Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE present Posture of Affairs in *Europe* is so well known to you all, and the good or bad Consequences, that may arise and affect us, from the War being extinguished, or being carried on, are so obvious, that I am persuaded you are met together fully prepared and determined to discharge the great Trust reposed in you at this critical Conjunction, in such a Manner as will best contribute to the Honour and Interest of my Crown and People.

I opened the last Session of the late Parliament by acquainting them, that as I was no Ways engaged, but by My good Offices, in the Transactions that were declared to be the principal Causes and Motives of the present War in *Europe*, it was necessary to use more than ordinary Prudence and Circumspection, and the utmost Precaution, not to determine too hastily upon so critical and important a Conjunction; to examine the Facts alledged on both Sides, to wait the Result of the Councils of those Powers, that are more nearly and immediately interested in the Consequences of the War, and particularly to concert with the States General of the *United Provinces*, who are under the same Engagements with Me, such Measures as should be thought most adviseable for Our Common Safety, and for restoring the Peace of *Europe*.

We have accordingly proceeded in this great Affair with the mutual Confidence which subsists between me and that Republick; and having considered together on one Side the pressing Applications made by the Imperial Court, both here and in *Holland*, for obtaining Succours against the Powers at War with the Emperor, and the repeated Professions made by the Allies on the other Side, of their sincere Disposition to put an End to the present Troubles, upon honourable and solid Terms, I concurred in a Resolution taken by the States General, to employ, without loss of Time, Our joint and earnest Instances to bring Matters to a speedy and happy Accommodation, before we should come to a Determination

upon the Succours demanded by the Emperor. These Instances did not at first produce such explicit Answers from the contending Parties, as to enable us to put immediately in Execution our impartial and sincere Desires for that Purpose: Resolved, however, to pursue so great and salutary a Work, and to prevent our Subjects from being unnecessarily involved in War, We renewed the Offer of our good Offices in so effectual a Manner, as to obtain an Acceptation of them.

In Consequence of this Acceptation, and of our Declaration made thereupon to the respective Powers engaged in the War, no Time has been lost in taking such Measures, as should be most proper to make the best Use of their good Dispositions for re-est-blishing the Tranquillity of *Europe*: And I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you, that Things are now brought to so great a forwardness, that I hope in a short Time a Plan will be offered to the Consideration of all the Parties engaged in the present War, as a Basis for a General Negotiation of Peace, in which the Honour and Interest of all Parties have been consulted, as far as the Circumstances of Time, and the present posture of Affairs would permit.

I do not take upon me to answer for the Success of a Negotiation, where so many different Interests are to be considered and reconciled; but when a Proceeding is founded upon Reason, and formed from such Lights as can be had, it had been inexcusable not to have attempted a Work, which may produce infinite Benefits and Advantages, and can be of no Prejudice, if we do not suffer ourselves to be so far amused by Hopes, that may possibly be afterwards disappointed, as to leave ourselves exposed to real Dangers.

I have made Use of the Power, which the late Parliament entrusted me with, with great Moderation; and I have concluded a Treaty with the Crown of *Denmark*, of great Importance in the present Conjuncture. It is impossible, when all the Courts of *Europe* are busy and in Motion, to secure to themselves such Supports, as Time and Occasion may require, for me to sit still, and neglect Opportunities, which if once lost, may not only be irretrievable, but turned as greatly to our Prejudice, as they will prove to our Advantage, by being seasonably secured; and which, if neglected, would have been thought a just Cause of Complaint. This necessary Confidence, placed in me, has given great Weight to my Endeavours for the Publick Good.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have order'd the Accounts and Estimates to be prepared and laid before you, of such Extraordinary Expences as were incurred last Year, and of such Services, as I think highly necessary to be carried on and provided for; and whatever additional Charges shall be found necessary, shall be reduced, as soon as it can be done consistently with common Security.

And as the Treaty with the Crown of *Denmark* is attended with an Expence, I have order'd the same to be laid before you.

I make no Doubt, but I shall find, in this House of Commons, the same Zeal, Duty, and Affection, as I have experienced thro' the whole Course of my Reign; and that you will raise the necessary Supplies with Cheerfulness, Unanimity, and Dispatch.

The Sense of the Nation is best to be learned by the Choice of their Representatives; and I am persuaded, that the Behaviour and Conduct of my faithful Commons will demonstrate to all the World the unshaken Fidelity and Attachment of my good Subjects to my Person and Government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is our Happiness to have continued hitherto in a State of Peace; but whilst many of the Principal Powers of *Europe* are engaged in War, the Consequences must more or less affect us; and as the best concerted Measures are liable to Uncertainty, we ought to be in a readiness, and prepared against all Events; and if our Expences are in some degree increased, to prevent greater, and such, as if once enter'd into, it would be difficult to see the End of, I hope my good Subjects will not repine at the necessary Means of procuring the Blessings of Peace, and of Universal Tranquillity, or of putting ourselves in a Condition to act that Part, which it may be necessary and Incumbent upon us to take.

The Humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament Assembled.

Die Jovis, 23 Januarii, 1734.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, humbly beg Leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

The

The many Blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's mild and auspicious Government are happily felt by all your People; amongst which your paternal Care and Tenderness for their true Interest, in employing your unwearied Endeavours to prevent their being unnecessarily involved in the present War, stand signally distinguished: And it would argue the highest Degree of Ingratitude in us, if we did not acknowledge ourselves sensibly affected by the Benefits that have accrued from this prudent Conduct.

In this your Majesty has given the World fresh Proofs of your just Sentiments of true and solid Glory, since you have preferr'd the real Prosperity and Ease of your Subjects to all other Considerations; and in that View have concerted Measures with the States General of the *United Provinces* (the ancient and natural Allies of the *British Crown*) for restoring the publick Tranquillity.

It is with the utmost Satisfaction we observe, that, in Consequence of this Proceeding, the good Offices of your Majesty, in Conjunction with them, have been accepted by the several Parties engaged in the War, and we cannot suffer ourselves to doubt, but the Interposition of the Maritime Powers united in the Interest and mutual Friendship, will have its just Weight.

When we turn our Thoughts to the various and different Views of the Princes and Powers concerned, we find ourselves obliged, with the utmost Thankfulness, to ascribe it to your Majesty's uncommon Vigilance and Attention to the Welfare of your People, and the Repose of *Christendom*, that no Time hath been lost in making Use of any good Dispositions of the Respective Powers at Variance; and that this salutary and extensive Work is advanced to such a Degree, that a Plan may shortly be offered to their Consideration, as a Basis for a general Treaty.

The Events of Negotiations, as well as of War, are in the Nature of Things, liable to Uncertainty: But when we reflect on the many Instances we have experienced of Right Reason and Prudence being the governing Rule of your Majesty's Actions, we promise ourselves that these your generous Labours for procuring universal Tranquillity will merit that good Success, which all well disposed Minds wish they may be attended with.

At the same Time permit us to assure your Majesty, that we are incapable of being so far amused by any Hopes whatsoever, as to leave the Security of your Majesty

Majesty and your Kingdoms exposed to real Dangers; and that our Endeavours shall never be wanting to disappoint the vain Expectations of any who shall be so presumptuous, as to imagine Advantages to themselves from such Methods.

The Wisdom of your Majesty's Councils, and that Steadiness and Constancy, which are inherent in your Royal Mind, join'd with a Harmony which subsists between your Majesty and that powerful Republick, in Concert with which, this great Transaction has been carry'd on, will, we trust, in due Time, prevail over all unreasonable Opposition: And that this may be the happy Effect of your good Offices, we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, with that Resolution and Firmness which become the Peers of *Great Britain* on so important an Occasion, That we will cheerfully support your Majesty in all such Measures as may be necessary for procuring the Blessings of Peace and Tranquillity, or for putting this Nation in a Condition to act that Part, which it may be incumbent on *Great Britain* to undertake.

It is a Felicity which we ought, in the most affectionate Manner, to remember on every Occasion of approaching your Sacred Person, that your Majesty hath always esteem'd the Interest of Sovereign and Subject as mutual and inseparable, and made the due Execution and Observance of the Laws the Rule of your Government: As your Majesty, agreeably to your repeated Declarations from the Throne, hath invariably held this Conduct towards your Subjects, we can entertain no Doubt but you will find the same inviolable and unshaken Fidelity, and the same Zeal for the true Honour and Happiness of your Majesty and your Kingdoms, (which can never be divided) both from your Parliament and your People.

On our Parts, we humbly intreat your Majesty to accept the strongest Assurances, that we are determin'd, by a steady Course of Loyalty and dutiful Affection to your Majesty, and a firm Perseverance in pursuing the true Interest of our Country, to convince the World, that we most seriously consider the Maintenance of our Religion and Liberties, as being absolutely involv'd in the Security and Support of your Majesty's Person and Government; and in the Preservation of the Protestant Succession in your Royal House; and that it is the unalterable Purpose of our Hearts, under the Protection of the Divine Providence, to transmit these invaluable Blessings safe and entire to our Posterity.

To

To which Address his Majesty return'd the following
Most Gracious Answer.

My LORDS,

I Thank you for this loyal and affectionate Address. The Concern you shew for the Success of my Endeavours, in Conjunction with the States General, for restoring the Publick Tranquillity, is very acceptable to me.

Nothing shall be wanting on my Part, that may contribute thereto; and the Duty and Affection of my Parliament and People, upon which I depend in all Events, will add great Weight to my Endeavours.

The House of Commons also address'd his Majesty, as follows.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return our humblest Thanks for your Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne; and to acknowledge, in the most grateful Manner, your Majesty's tender and affectionate Concern for the Welfare of your People, in steadily pursuing such Measures, as have tended towards Peace and Accommodation, rather than to involve too precipitately this Kingdom and all *Europe*, in a general and bloody War.

Among so many differing Interests and contending Powers engaged in the present War, it is your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness alone, which could have secured to us our present happy Situation; and the Crown of *Great Britain* could never appear with greater Honour and Lustre, than by your Majesty's interposing your good Offices between the contending Parties: And as they have received them with due Respect, we cannot but hope, their own Prudence will help to compleat so desirable a Work.

It is our Duty, and we beg Leave to express the greatest Gratitude to your Majesty, for the Care and Concern, which must have attended your unwearied Endeavours both in beginning and carrying on those good Offices, which being accepted, have brought Things to so great a Forwardness, that a Plan, in Concert with the States General, may, in a short Time, be offered to the Consideration of all the Powers engaged in the War: which, notwithstanding the great Difficulties that must attend so great a Work, may serve for the Basis of a general

neral Negotiation of Peace, consistent with the Honour and Interest of all Parties, as far as the Circumstances of Time, and the present Situation of Affairs will permit.

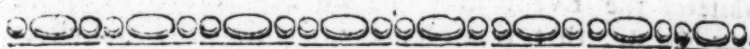
If these Measures, concerted for the common Repose and Tranquillity of all *Europe*, should unhappily meet with any Disappointment, your Majesty's Wisdom and Care must be acknowledged to have deserved that Success, which the wisest Counsels cannot always command. But, whatever the Event may be, we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that this House will chearfully and effectually raise such Supplies, as shall be necessary for the Honour and Security of your Majesty and these Kingdoms, and enable your Majesty to act that Part, which Honour and Justice, and the true Interest of your People shall call upon your Majesty to undertake.



U

An

An exact LIST of the
present Parliament of Great Bri-
tain.



An exact LIST of the
House of PEERS.



*Note, Those mark'd thus † are Knights of the Garter; thus †, Knights of the Bath; † Knights of the Thistle; † Peers of Scotland; * under Age; and P.C. for Privy Counsellor.*

DUKES 31.

- † **H**IS Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, P.C.
- † * His Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland.
- Edward Howard, Duke of Norfolk.
- Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, P.C.
- William Fitzroy, Duke of Cleveland.
- † Charles Lenos, Duke of Richmond.
- † Charles Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, P.C.
- Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort.
- † Charles Beauclair, Duke of St. Alban's.
- † Charles Powlet, Duke of Bolton, P.C.
- Thomas Osborne, Duke of Leeds.
- John Russel, Duke of Bedford.
- † William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire.
- * Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire.
- Charles Spencer, Duke of Marlborough.
- † Francis Scott, Duke of Buccleugh.
- † James Murray, Duke of Athol.
- † John Manners, Duke of Rutland, P.C.

† J. ha

† John Montagu, *Duke of Montagu.*
 Charles Douglas, *Duke of Dover, P. C.*
 † Henry de Grey, *Duke of Kent, P. C.*
 James Hamilton, *Duke of Brandon.*
 Peregrine Bertie, *Duke of Ancaster, P. C.*
 Evelyn Pierpoint, *Duke of Kingston.*
 † Thomas Pelham, *Duke of Newcastle, P. C.*
 William Bentinck, *Duke of Portland.*
 † John Campbell, *Duke of Greenwich, P. C.*
 † William Montagu, *Duke of Manchester.*
 James Brydges, *Duke of Chandos, P. C.*
 Lionel Cranfield Sacville, *Duke of Dorset, P. C.*
 Scroop Egerton, *Duke of Bridgewater.*

MARQUESSSES 2.

William Herbert, *Marquess of Powis.*
 † William Ker, *Marquess of Lothian.*

EARLS 85.

* George Talbot, *Earl of Shrewsbury.*
 James Stanley, *Earl of Derby, P. C.*
 Theophilus Hastings, *Earl of Huntingdon.*
 Henry Herbert, *Earl of Pembroke.*
 * Henry Clinton, *Earl of Lincoln.*
 Henry Howard, *Earl of Suffolk.*
 James Cecil, *Earl of Salisbury.*
 Brownlow Cecil, *Earl of Exeter.*
 † John Sidney, *Earl of Leicester.*
 James Compton, *Earl of Northampton.*
 Edward Rich, *Earl of Warwick and Holland.*
 William Fielding, *Earl of Denbigh.*
 Thomas Fane, *Earl of Westmoreland, P. C.*
 Henry Bowes Howard, *Earl of Berkshire.*
 John Savage, *Earl Rivers. At Liege.*
 † Charles Mordaunt, *Earl of Peterborough.*
 Harry Grey, *Earl of Stamford.*
 Daniel Finch, *Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, P. C.*
 Philip Dormer Stanhope, *Earl of Chesterfield, P. C.*
 Sacville Tuston, *Earl of Thanet.*
 Nicholas Leak, *Earl of Scarisdale.*
 * John Montagu, *Earl of Sandwich.*
 Henry Hyde, *Earl of Clarendon and Rochester.*
 † William Capel, *Earl of Essex.*
 George Brudenel, *Earl of Cardigan.*
 Arthur Annesley, *Earl of Anglesea, P. C.*
 Charles Howard, *Earl of Carlisle, P. C.*
 Thomas Bruce, *Earl of Aylesbury.*
 Richard Boyle, *Earl of Burlington, P. C.*

Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Earl of Shaftsbury*.
 George Henry Lee, *Earl of Litchfield*.
 John Roberts, *Earl of Radnor*.
 † James Berkeley, *Earl of Berkeley, P.C.*
 Montagu Venables Bertie, *Earl of Abingdon, P.C.*
 Baptist Noel, *Earl of Gainsborough*.
 * Robert Darcy, *Earl of Holderness*.
 * Other Lewis Windsor Hickman, *Earl of Plymouth*.
 William Stafford Howard, *Earl of Stafford*.
 † Richard Lumley, *Earl of Scarborough, P.C.*
 George Booth, *Earl of Warrington*.
 Henry Newport, *Earl of Bradford*.
 Frederick Zulestein, *Earl of Rochford*.
 † William Anne van Kevel, *Earl of Albemarle*.
 William Coventry, *Earl of Coventry, P.C.*
 William Villiers, *Earl of Jersey*.
 Henry d'Auverquerque, *Earl of Grantham, P.C.*
 † John Poulett, *Earl Poulett*.
 Francis Godolphin, *Earl of Godolphin, P.C.*
 George Cholmondeley, *Earl of Cholmondeley, P.C.*
 || John Lindsay, *Earl of Crawford*.
 || George Douglas, *Earl of Moreton*.
 || William Sutherland, *Earl of Sutherland*.
 || Hugh Campbell, *Earl of Loudon*.
 || James Ogilvy, *Earl of Finlater and Seafeld*.
 || Charles Hamilton, *Earl of Selkirk, P.C.*
 || Alexander Lindsay, *Earl of Balcarra*.
 || † John Murray, *Earl of Dunmore*.
 || † George Hamilton, *Earl of Orkney*.
 || Charles Hope, *Earl of Hopton*.
 || † Charles Collier, *Earl of Portmore*.
 || Archibald Campbell, *Earl of Ilay, P.C.*
 Edward Harley, *Earl of Oxford*.
 † Thomas Wentworth, *Earl of Strafford*.
 Henry Shirley, *Earl of Ferrers*.
 William Legg, *Earl of Dartmouth*.
 Henry Paget, *Earl of Uxbridge, P.C.*
 * Lewis Watson, *Earl of Rockingham*.
 † Charles Bennet, *Earl of Tankerville*.
 Heneage Finch, *Earl of Aylesford*.
 John Hervey, *Earl of Bristol*.
 † George Montagu, *Earl of Halifax, P.C.*
 * George Yelverton, *Earl of Suffolk*.
 William Cowper, *Earl of Cowper*.
 * Philip Stanhope, *Earl Stanhope*.
 Philip Sherrard, *Earl of Harborough*.

George Parker, *Earl of Macclesfield.*
 Thomas Farmer, *Earl of Pomfret.*
 Robert Ker, *Earl Ker, (Marquess Beaumont)*
 William Graham, *Earl Graham.*
 Benjamin Mildmay, *Earl Fitzwalter.*
 James Waldgrave, *Earl Waldgrave.*
 John Ashburnham, *Earl of Ashburnham.*
 Spencer Compton, *Earl of Wilmington, P.C.*
 Francis Howard, *Earl of Effingham.*
 Thomas Wentworth, *Earl of Malton.*

VISCOUNTS 15.

Price Devereux, *Viscount Hereford.*
 Anthony Browne, *Viscount Montagu.*
 Laurence Fiennes, *Viscount Say and Sele.*
 Thomas Bellasis, *Viscount Falconberg.*
 Charles Townshend, *Viscount Townshend, P.C.*
 Thomas Thynne, *Viscount Weymouth.*
 William Hatton, *Viscount Hatton.*
 Henry Lowther, *Viscount Lonsdale, P.C.*
 Henry Obrian, *Viscount Tadcaster.*
 Henry St. John, *Viscount St. John.*
 Richard Temple, *Viscount Cobham, P.C.*
 Hugh Boscawen, *Viscount Falmouth.*
 John Wallop, *Viscount Lymington.*
 Simon Harcourt, *Viscount Harcourt.*
 Petter Byng, *Viscount Torrington, P.C.*

BARONS 63.

William Nevil, *Lord Abergavenny.*
 James Touchet, *Lord Audley.*
 Algernoon Seymour, *Lord Percy.*
 John West, *Lord Delawar, P.C.*
 Hugh Fortescue, *Lord Clinton.*
 William Ward, *Lord Dudley and Ward.*
 Thomas Stourton, *Lord Stourton.*
 Richard Verney, *Lord Willoughby de Broke.*
 Hugh Willoughby, *Lord Willoughby of Parham.*
 William Ferdinand Carey, *Lord Hunsdon.*
 John St. John, *Lord St. John of Bletsoe.*
 Robert Petre, *Lord Petre.*
 Henry Arundel, *Lord Arundel of Wardour.*
 Edward Blythe, *Lord Clifton.*
 Charles Dormer, *Lord Dormer.*
 Henry Roper, *Lord Teynham.*
 Francis Greville, *Lord Brook.*
 Nevil Lovelace, *Lord Lovelace.*
 Henry Maynard, *Lord Maynard.*

Charles Bruce, *Lord Bruce*.
 Edward Leigh, *Lord Leigh*.
 William Byron, *Lord Byron*.
 Marmaduke Langdale, *Lord Langdale*.
 William Berkeley, *Lord Berkeley of Stratton, P.C.*
 Charles Cornwallis, *Lord Cornwallis*.
 Charles Townshend, *Lord Lynn*.
 John Arundel, *Lord Arundel of Trerice*.
 William Craven, *Lord Craven*.
 * Clifford, *Lord Clifford*.
 John Carteret, *Lord Carteret, P.C.*
 William Stawel, *Lord Stawel*.
 Francis North, *Lord North and Guilford*.
 Edward Griffin, *Lord Griffin*.
 Charles Butler, *Lord Butler of Weston. (Earl of Arran)*
 Henry Herbert, *Lord Herbert of Chisbury*.
 Maurice Thompson, *Lord Haversham*.
 Gilbert Vane, *Lord Barnard, P.C.*
 John Hervey, *Lord Hervey, P.C.*
 John Leveson Gower, *Lord Gower*.
 * Francis Seymour Conway, *Lord Conway*.
 || Charles Cathcart, *Lord Cathcart*.
 John Boyle, *Lord Boyle. (E. Orrery)*
 George Hay, *Lord Hay. (E. Kinnoul)*
 Thomas Windsor, *Lord Montjoy*.
 * Thomas Mansel, *Lord Mansel*.
 Francis Willoughby, *Lord Middleton*.
 Thomas Trevor, *Lord Trevor*.
 Samuel Masham, *Lord Masham*.
 Thomas Foley, *Lord Foley*.
 Allen Bathurst, *Lord Bathurst*.
 Thomas Onslow, *Lord Onslow*.
 Robert Marham, *Lord Romney*.
 Charles Cadogan, *Lord Cadogan*.
 Matthew Ducie Morton, *Lord Morton*.
 † Robert Walpole, *jun. Lord Walpole*.
 John King, *Lord King*.
 † John Hobart, *Lord Hobart*.
 † John Monson, *Lord Monson*.
 † Thomas Coke, *Lord Lovel*.
 William Stanhope, *Lord Harrington, P.C.*
 Robert Raymond, *Lord Raymond*.
 John Poulett, *Lord Henton*.
 Philip York, *Lord Hardwicke, P.C.*
 Charles Talbot, *Lord Talbot, P.C.*

ARCHBISHOPS and BISHOPS, 26.

- Mr. William Wake, *Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, P.C.*
Mr. Lancelot Blackbourn, *Lord Archbishop of York, P.C.*
Mr. Edmund Gibson, *Lord Bishop of London, P.E.*
Mr. Edward Chandler, *Lord Bishop of Durham.*
Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, *Lord Bishop of Winchester.*
Mr. John Hough, *Lord Bishop of Worcester.*
Mr. John Wynn, *Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.*
Mr. John Potter, *Lord Bishop of Oxford.*
Mr. Thomas Green, *Lord Bishop of Ely.*
Mr. Richard Reynolds, *Lord Bishop of Lincoln.*
Mr. Joseph Wilcocks, *Lord Bishop of Rochester.*
Mr. Henry Egerton, *Lord Bishop of Hereford.*
Mr. Richard Smallbroke, *L.Bp. of Litchfield & Coventry.*
Mr. Stephen Weston, *Lord Bishop of Exeter.*
Mr. Robert Clavering, *Lord Bishop of Peterborough.*
Mr. Samuel Peploe, *Lord Bishop of Chester.*
Mr. Francis Hare, *Lord Bishop of Chichester.*
Mr. Thomas Sherlock, *Lord Bishop of Sarum.*
Mr. John Harris, *Lord Bishop of Landaff.*
Mr. Thomas Tanner, *Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.*
Mr. Nicholas Clagget, *Lord Bishop of St. David's.*
Mr. Robert Butts, *Lord Bishop of Norwich.*
Mr. Charles Cecil, *Lord Bishop of Bangor.*
Mr. George Fleming, *Lord Bishop of Carlisle.*
Mr. Thomas Secker, *Lord Bishop of Bristol.*
Mr. Martin Benson, *Lord Bishop of Gloucester.*



An exact LIST of the
House of COMMONS.

Bedfordshire 4.	Sir Rowland Alston, <i>Bart.</i> Sir Rowland Burgoigne, <i>Bart.</i>
Bedford.	Sir Jeremy Vanacker Sambroke, <i>Bart.</i> Samuel Ongley.
Berkshire 9.	Winchcomb Howard Packer, William Archer.
New Windsor.	Ld Vere Beauclerc, Ld Sidney Beauclerc.
Reading.	Richard Pottinger, Henry Grey.
Wallingford.	Thomas Towers, William Hucks.
Abingdon.	Robert Hucks.
Bucks 14.	Sir W. Stanhope, <i>Kt. B.</i> Sir T. Lee, <i>Bart.</i>
Buckingham.	Geo. Chamberlain, Rich. Greenville.
Chipping-Wicomb.	Harry Waller, Sir Cha. Vernon.
Aylesbury.	Geo. Champion, Christ. Towers.
Agmondesham.	Henry Marshal, Thomas Gore.
Wendover.	Ld Visc. Limerick, John Hampden.
Great Marlow.	Sir Tho. Hoby, <i>Bart.</i> Edm. Waller.
Cambridgeshire 6.	Samuel Shephard, Henry Bromley.
Univ. of Cambridge.	Edw. Finch, Tho. Townshend.
Town of Cambridge.	Sir John Hind Cotton, <i>Bart.</i> Thomas Slater Bacon.
Cheshire 4.	Cha. Cholmondeley, John Crew, <i>jun.</i>
City of Chester.	Sir Robert Grosvenor, <i>Bart.</i> Sir Cha. Bunbury, <i>Bart.</i>
Cornwall 44.	Sir William Carew, <i>Bart.</i> Sir John St. Aubin <i>Bart.</i>
Launceston.	Sir W. Morrice, <i>Bt.</i> Sir W. Irby, <i>Bt.</i>
Leskard.	Richard Elliot, George Dennis.
Lestwithiel.	John Cross, John Owen.
Truro.	Robert Trefusis, Kellond Courtney.
Rodmin.	Sir John Heathcote, <i>Bart.</i> J. Laroch.
Helston.	John Evelyn, John Harris.
Saltash.	L. Visc. Glenorchy, <i>Kt. B.</i> T. Corbet.
Camelford.	Sir Tho. Lyttleton, <i>Bart.</i> Col. James Cholmondeley.
Portpigham, alias Westflow.	John Willes, Samuel Holdern.
Grampound.	Philip Hawkins, Thomas Hales.
Eastflow.	Charles Longueville, Tho. Walker. Perry

Penny.	Sir Ric. Mill, Bart. John Clavering.
Tregony.	Henry Penton, John Goddard.
Bullney.	L. Visc. Palmerston, Towns. Andrews.
St. Ives.	Sir Rob. Rich, Bart. William Mackworth Praed.
Forney.	John Hedges, Jonathan Rashleigh.
St. Germans.	Lord Baltimore, Charles Montagu.
St. Michael's.	Thomas Watts, Robert Ord.
Newport.	Sir J. Molesworth, Bt. Tho. Herbert.
St. Marys.	Henry Vane, Richard Plummer.
Callington.	Isaac Lekeup, Thomas Copleston.
Cumberland 6.	Sir Ja. Lowther, Bart. Sir Jos. Pennington, Bart.
City of Carlisle.	Charles Howard, John Hylton.
Cockermouth.	Will. Finch, Sir Wilf. Lawson, Bart.
Derbyshire 4.	Lord Charles Cavendish, Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Bart.
Derby.	Ld. Ja. Cavendish, Cha. Stanhope.
Devonshire 26.	Sir Will. Courtney, Bart. Hen. Rolle.
City of Exeter.	Tho. Balle, Sir Hen. Northcote, Bart.
Tonnes.	Sir Cha. Wills, Kt. B. Jos. Danvers.
Plymouth.	Robert Byng, Arthur Stert.
Oakhampton.	George Lyttleton, Thomas Pitt.
Barnstaple.	Sir John Chichester, Bart. Theophilus Fortescue.
Plympton.	Ric. Edgecumbe, Tho. Clutterbuck.
Huilton.	Sir William Yonge, Bart. Kt. Bath, William Courtney.
Taunstock.	Charles Fane, Sidney Meadows.
Alborton.	Roger Tuckfield, Thomas Bladen.
Glifton; Dartmouth-Hardness.	Geo. Treby, Walter Carey.
Boreafston.	Sir Fr. Hen. Drake, Bart. J. Bristow.
Tiverton.	Dudley Rider, Arthur Arscott.
Dorsetshire 20.	Geo. Chaffin, Edm. Mort n Pleydell.
Dorchester.	Sir Will. Chapple, John Browne.
Lyme-Regis.	John Scrope, Henry Holt Henley.
Weymouth.	Thomas Pearse, Edward Tucker.
Melcomb-Regis.	George Doddington, John Tucker.
Bridport.	William Bowles, Solomon Ashley.
Shafton, alias Shaftesbury.	Jacob Banks, Stephen Fox.
Wareham.	Henry Drax, John Pitt.
Corfe-Castle.	John Banks, John Bond.
Boole.	George Trenchard, Tho. Wyndham.
Durham 4.	George Bowes, John Hedworth.
City of Durham.	John Shaftoe, Henry Lambton.
Essex 8.	Sir Rob. Abdy, Bart. Tho. Bramston.

<i>Colchester.</i>	Matthew Martin, Jacob Houblon.
<i>Malden.</i>	Col. Martin Bladen, Henry Parsons.
<i>Harwich.</i>	Carteret Leathes, Charles Stanhope.
<i>Gloucestershire 8.</i>	Hon. Benj. Bathurst, Tho. Chester.
<i>City of Gloucester.</i>	Col. John Selwyn, Benj. Bathurst.
<i>Cirencester.</i>	Thomas Master, Henry Bathurst.
<i> Tewksbury.</i>	Ld Visc. Gage. Robert Tracy.
<i> Herefordshire 8.</i>	Edw. Harvey, jun. Velters Cornwall.
<i>City of Hereford.</i>	Sir J. Morgan, Bart. Tho. Foley, jun.
<i>Leominster.</i>	Sir George Caswall, Robert Harley.
<i>Wob'y.</i>	Sir John Buckworth, Bart. Mr. Curator Baron Birch.
<i> Hertfordshire 6.</i>	Sir Thomas Saunders Sebright, Bart. William Plummer.
<i>St. Alban's.</i>	Sir Tho. Aston, Bart. Tho. Ashby.
<i>H rtford.</i>	Sir Tho. Clerk, Nathaniel Brassey.
<i>Huntingdonshire 4.</i>	Lord Rob. Montagu, Rob. Pigott.
<i>Huntingdon.</i>	Edward Montagu, Col. Handasyd.
<i> Kent 10.</i>	Sir Edw. Dering, Bt. Sir Chr. Powell, Bt.
<i>City of Canterbury.</i>	Tho. May, Sir Tho. Hales, Bart.
<i>City of Rochester.</i>	Admiral Haddock, David Polhill.
<i>Maidstone.</i>	John Finch, William Horsmonden Turner.
<i>Queenborough.</i>	Rich. Evans, Ld Arch. Hamilton.
<i> Lancashire 14.</i>	Sir Edward Stanley, Bart. Richard Shuttleworth.
<i>Preston.</i>	Sir Henry Houghton, Bart. Nicholas Fazakerly.
<i> Lancafter.</i>	Sir Tho. Lowther, Bt. Rob. Fenwick.
<i>Newton.</i>	Legh Master, William Shippen.
<i>Wigan.</i>	Earl of Barrimore, Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bart.
<i>Slithero.</i>	Thomas Lister, William Curson.
<i>Liverpool.</i>	Richard Gildart, Tho. Brereton.
<i> Leicestershire 4.</i>	Ambrose Philips, Edward Smith.
<i>Leicester.</i>	Sir Geo. Beaumont, Bart. Geo. Wright.
<i> Lincolnshire 12.</i>	Sir Tho. Saunderson, Kt. Bath, Tho. Vyner.
<i>City of Lincoln.</i>	Cha. Monson, Coningsby Sibthorpe.
<i>Boston.</i>	Albemarle Bertie, Richard Fyddell.
<i>Great Brimsby.</i>	Sir Rob. Sutton, Kt. B. Rob. Knight.
<i>Stamford.</i>	William Noel, John Proby.
<i>Grantham.</i>	Ld Visc. Tyrconnel, Kt. B. Sir Mich. Newton, Bart. Kt. B.
<i> Middlesex 8.</i>	Sir Fra. Child, William Pulteney.
<i>City of Westminster.</i>	Sir Charles Wager, Will. Clayton.

- City of London. Humph. Parsons, Sir John Barnard,
Micajah Perry, Robert Willimot.
- Monmouthshire 3. Tho. Morgan, Cha. Hanbury Williams
Monmouth Town. Lord Charles Noell Somerset.
Norfolk 12. Sir Emd. Bacon, Bart.
- City of Norwich. Horatio Walpole, Thomas Vere.
Town of Lynn-Regis. Right Hon. Sir Rob. Walpole, Kt. Gar.
Sir Charles Turner, Bart.
- Town of Great Yarmouth. Edw. Walpole, Wil. Townshend,
Thetford. Sir Edm. Bacon, Bt. Charles Fitzroy.
Gosport. Tho. Hanmer, Brig. Gen. Churchill.
- Northamptonshire 9. Sir Justinian Isham, Bart. Thomas
Cartwright.
- City of Peterborough. Edward Wortley, Armsted Parker.
Town of Northampton. Geo. Compton, William Wilmer.
Town of Brackley. Sir Paul Methuen, K. B. G. Lee, LL. D.
Higham Ferrers. John Finch.
- Northumberland 8. Sir William Middleton, Bart. Ralph
Jenison.
- Morpeth. Ld Visc. Morpeth, Sir H. Liddel, Bt.
Newcastle upon Tyne. Walter Blacket, Nich. Fenwick.
- Town of Berwick upon Tweed. Geo. Liddell, Ld Polwarth.
Nottinghamshire 8. Will. Levinz, jun. Thomas Bennet.
- Town of Nottingham. Borlace Warren, John Plumtree.
East Retford. Jo. White, Sir R. Clifton, Bart. Kt. B.
Newark upon Trent. Brig. Gen. Sutton, James Pelham.
- Oxon 9. Sir Will. Stapleton, Bart. Hen. Perrot.
University of Oxon. L. Visc. Cornbury, Geo. Clarke, LL. D.
City of Oxon. Thomas Rowney, Serj. Skinner.
- New Woodstock. John Spencer, James Dawkins.
Banbury. Lord Viscount Wallingford.
- Rutlandshire 2. James Noel, Thomas Noel.
Salop 12. Sir John Aspley, Bt. Corbet Kynaston.
Town of Salop. Sir Rich. Corbet, Bart. Wil. Kynaston.
- Bruges, alias Bridgnorth. Tho. Whitmore, Gray Ja. Groves.
Ludlow. Hen. Arth. Herbert, Rich. Herbert.
- Great Wenlock. Will. Forrester, Sam. Edwards.
Bishops-Castle. Robert More, Edward Kynaston.
- Somersetshire 18. Sir William Wyndham, Bart. Tho.
Strangeways Horner.
- City of Bristol. Sir Abr. Elton, Bart. Tho. Coffer.
City of Bath. Gen. Geo. Wade, John Coddington.
City of Wells. William Piers, George Speke.
Taunton. Hen. Will. Berkley, Francis Fane.
Bridgewater. Hon. G. Daddington, Cha. Wyndham.
Minehead. Alex. Luttrell, Francis Whitworth.

<i>Hechester.</i>	<i>Sir Rob. Brown, Bart. Cha. Lockyer.</i>
<i>Milbourne Port.</i>	<i>Tho. Medlycott, Michael Harvey.</i>
<i>Southampton 26.</i>	<i>Lord Harry Powlett, Edward Lisle.</i>
<i>City of Winchester.</i>	<i>Paulet St. John, George Bridges.</i>
<i>Town of Southampton.</i>	<i>Sir William Heathcoate, Bart. John Conduit.</i>
<i>Town of Portsmouth.</i>	<i>Admiral Cavendish, Thomas Lewis.</i>
<i>Yarmouth.</i>	<i>Lord Harry Powlett, Paul Burrard.</i>
<i>Petersfield.</i>	<i>Sir William Jolliffe, Edw. Gibbon.</i>
<i>Newport.</i>	<i>George Huxley, William Fortescue.</i>
<i>Stockbridge.</i>	<i>Sir Humphry Monnoux, Bart. John Berkley.</i>
<i>Newtown.</i>	<i>James Worsley, Thomas Holmes.</i>
<i>Christchurch.</i>	<i>Edw. Hooper, jun. Joseph Hinxman.</i>
<i>Lymington.</i>	<i>Sir J. Cope, Bart. Maurice Bocland.</i>
<i>Whitchurch.</i>	<i>John Selwyn, jun. Col. Mordaunt.</i>
<i>Andover.</i>	<i>William Guidot, John Pollen.</i>
<i>Staffordshire 10.</i>	<i>Sir Walter Wagstaff Bagott, Bart. William Leveson Gower.</i>
<i>City of Litchfield.</i>	<i>Sir Rowland Hill, Bart. George Venables Vernon.</i>
<i>Stafford.</i>	<i>Will. Chetwynd, Tho. Foley.</i>
<i>Newcastle under Line.</i>	<i>Bap. Lev. Gower, Jo. Lawton, jun.</i>
<i>Tamworth.</i>	<i>Lord John Sackville, Dr. Cotes.</i>
<i>Suffolk 16.</i>	<i>Sir Jermyn Davers, Bart. Sir Col- dell Firebrace, Bart.</i>
<i>Ipswich.</i>	<i>Samuel Kent, William Wolaston.</i>
<i>Dunwich.</i>	<i>Sir George Downing, Bart. Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bart.</i>
<i>Orford.</i>	<i>Richard Powis, Lewis Barlow.</i>
<i>Aldborough.</i>	<i>William Conolly, George Purvis.</i>
<i>Sudbury.</i>	<i>Rich. Price, Edw. Stephenson.</i>
<i>Eye.</i>	<i>Stephen Cornwallis, Ja. Cornwallis.</i>
<i>St. Edmund's-Bury.</i>	<i>Thomas Harvey, Thomas Norton.</i>
<i>Surrey 14.</i>	<i>Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Speaker, Thomas Scawen.</i>
<i>Southwark.</i>	<i>Thomas Inwen, George Heathcote.</i>
<i>Guildford.</i>	<i>Richard Onslow, Col. Onslow.</i>
<i>Blechingly.</i>	<i>Sir W. Clayton, Br. Kenrick Clayton.</i>
<i>Rygate.</i>	<i>Sir Joseph Jekyll, James Cocks.</i>
<i>Gatton.</i>	<i>Will. Newland, Cha. Doerninque.</i>
<i>Haslemere.</i>	<i>James Oglethorpe, Peter Burrel.</i>
<i>Sussex 28.</i>	<i>Henry Pelham, James Butler.</i>
<i>City of Chichester.</i>	<i>James Brudenell, Thomas Yates.</i>
<i>Haslem.</i>	<i>Henry Ingram, Charles Eversfield.</i>
<i>Midhurst.</i>	<i>Bulstr. Peachy Knight, Tho. Bootle.</i>

Lewes.	Thomas Pelham, Thomas Pelham.
New Shoreham.	John Phillipsen, Thomas Frederick.
Bramber.	Sir Hen. Gough, <i>Bart.</i> Capt. Gough.
Steyning.	Marq. Carnarvon, Kt. B. Rob. Fagg.
East Grinstead.	Earl of Middlesex, Edw. Convers.
Arundel.	Col. Lumley, Sir John Shelley, <i>Bart.</i>
Warwickshire 6.	Edw. Digby, Sir Cha. Mordaunt, <i>Bt.</i>
City of Coventry.	Sir Adolphus Oughton, <i>Bart.</i> J. Bird.
Warwick.	Thomas Archer, Henry Archer.
Westmoreland 4.	Anth. Lowther, Daniel Wilson.
Appleby.	Walter Plummer, John Ramsden.
Wiltshire 34.	John Howe, John Ivory Talbot.
City of New Sarum.	Henry Hoare, Peter Bathurst.
Wilton.	Robert Herbert, William Herbert.
Downton.	Anth. Duncomb, Jo. Wyndam Ashe.
Hindon.	George Fox, Henry Fox.
Heytesbury.	Pearce A. Court, Edward Ashe.
Westbury.	George Evans, John Bance.
Calne.	Col. Duckett, Walter Hungerford.
Devizes.	Sir Joseph Eyles, Francis Eyles.
Chippenham.	Rogers Holland, Richard Long.
Marlbury.	Giles Erle, Will. Rawlinson Erle.
Cricklade.	Will. Gore, Sir Tho. Read, <i>Bart.</i>
Great Bedwin.	Col. Murray, William Sloper.
Ludgershall.	Peter Desme, Daniel Boone.
Old Sarum.	Robert Needham, William Pitt.
Wotton Bassett.	Sir Rob. Long, <i>Bart.</i> Nich. Robinson.
Marlborough.	Francis Seymour, Edward Lisle.
Worcestershire 9.	Edm. Lechmere, Sir Herbert Perrot
	Pakington, <i>Bart.</i>
City of Worcester.	Samuel Sandys, Rich. Lockwood.
Droitwich.	Edw. Foley, Tho. Winnington.
Evesham.	Sir J. Rumout, <i>Bart.</i> Will. Taylor.
Bewdley.	Col. Bowles.
Yorkshire 30.	Sir Miles Stapylton, <i>Bart.</i> Cholmly
	Turner.
City of York.	Sir John Lister Kaye, <i>Bart.</i> Edward
	Thompson.
Kingston upon Hull.	Henry Maltster, George Crowle.
Knarborough.	Sir Henry Slingsby, <i>Bart.</i> Richard
	Arundell.
Scarborough.	Sir Will. Strickland, <i>Bart.</i> William
	Thompson.
Rippon.	William Ainslie, Tho. Duncomb.
Richmond.	Sir Conyers Darcy, Kt. B. J. Yorke.
Heydon.	Sir Fra. Boynton, <i>Bt.</i> Geo. Berkeley.
	Borough.

Borough-Brigde.
Malton.
Thirske.

Aldborough.
Beverley.

North Allerton.
Pontefract.

Brig. Tyrrel, George Gregory.
Hen. Finch, Sir Will. Wentworth, Bt.
Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. Frederick Frankland.
Andrew Wilkinfon, John Jewkes.
Sir Charles Hotham, Bart. Ellerker Bradshaw.
Leonard Smelt, Henry Peirse.
Sir William Lowther, Bart. Ld Visc. Gallway.

Barons of the Cinque-Ports 16.

Hastings.

Dover.
Sandwich.

Hyeth.
New Romney.
Town of Rye.
Town of Winchelsea.

Town of Seaford.

Sir William Ashburnham, Bart. Tho. Pelham, jun.
David Papillon, Thomas Revel.
Sir George Oxenden, Bart. Josiah Burchet.
William Glanville, Hercules Baker.
Stephen Bisse, David Papillon.
Philip Gybbon, Sir John Norris.
Robert Bristow, Edward Hungate Beaghan.
Sir William Gage, Bart. and Kt. B. William Haye.

W A L E S 24.

Anglesea 2.
Beaumaris.
Brecon 2.
Town of Brecon.
Cardigan 2.
Town of Cardigan.
Carmarthen 2.
Town of Carmarthen.
Carnarvon 2.
Town of Carnarvon.
Denbigh 2.
Town of Denbigh.
Flint 2.
Town of Flint.
Glamorgan 2.
Town of Cardiffe.
Merioneth 1.
Montgomery 2.

Nicholas Baily.
Lord Viscount Bulkeley.
John Jeffreys.
John Talbot.
Walter Lloyd.
Richard Lloyd.
Sir Nicholas Williams, Bart.
Arthur Bevan.
John Griffith.
Thomas Wynne.
Watkin Williams Wynne.
John Middleton.
Thomas Mostyn.
Sir George Wynne.
William Talbot.
Herbert Windsor.
William Vaughan.
Pryce Devereux.

Town

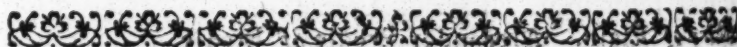
Town of Montgomery. William Corbet.
 Pembroke 3. John Campbell.
 Town of Pembroke. William Owen.
 Town of Haverford-West. Erasmus Philips.
 Radnor 2. Sir Humphry Howarth.
 Town of New Radnor. Thomas Lewis.

S C O T L A N D 45.

Shire of Aberdeen. Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigevar, Bt.
 Shire of Air. Col. James Campbell.
 Burghs of Air, Irwin, Rothsay, &c. Col. James Stuart of Torrence
 Shire of Argyle. Sir J. Campbell of Ardkinglass, Bart.
 Shire of Bamf. J. Abercrombie of Glassaugh.
 Burghs of Bamf, Elgin, Cullen, &c. William Stuart.
 Shire of Berwick. Alexander Hume Campbell.
 Shire of Bute and Caithness. Col. Peter Campbell of St. Garachtie.
 Shire of Kinross and Clac. James Erskine of Grange.
 Shire of Dumbarton. Col. John Campbell of Mamore.
 Shire of Dumfries. Charles Areskine of Barjarg.
 Shire of Edinburgh. Robert Dundas of Arnistoun.
 City of Edinburgh. Patrick Lindefay.
 Shire of Elgin. Alexander Brodie of Brodie.
 Burghs of Nairn, Fortrose, &c. Duncan Forbes.
 Shire of Fife. Sir John Anstruther of Anstruther.
 Burghs of Anstruther, Craill, &c. Col. Philip Anstruther of Ardrrie.
 Burghs of Innerkeithing, Stirling, &c. Capt. Peter Halket of Pitfirren, jun.
 Burghs of Dysart, Kircaldee, &c. Thomas Leslie.
 Shire of Forfar. Thomas Scot.
 Burghs of Dundee, Perth, Forfar, &c. John Drummond of Quarrell.
 Burghs of Montrose, Aberdeen, &c. Col. John Middleton of Seatown.
 Shire of Haddingtown. John Cockburne of Ormiston.
 Shire of Inverness. Sir James Grant of Grant, Bart.
 Shire of Kincardine. John Falconar.
 Stewartry of Kirkudbright. Patrick Heron of that Ilk.
 Burgh of Dumfries, Sanquhar, &c. Will Kirkpatrick.
 Shire of Lanerk. Sir James Hamilton, Bart.
 Burghs of Selkirk, Peebles, &c. James Carmichaell.
 Shire of Linlithgow. Alex. Hamilton, of Innerwick.
 Shire of Nairn and Cromartie. Alex. Brodie, of Lethen.

Shires

Shires of Orkney and Zetland. Robert Douglas, of St. Olla.
Shire of Peebles. Sir John Nasmyth, of Posso, Bart.
Shire of Perth. Lord John Murray of Pitnacree.
Shire of Renfrew. Alexander Cunningham, of Craighends.
Burghs of Glasgow, Dumbarton, &c. Cornet William Campbell.
Shire of Ross. Hugh Rose of Kilravock.
Burghs of Dingwall, Wick, Kirkwall, &c. Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, Bart.
Shire of Roxburgh. J. Rutherford, jun, of Rutherford.
Burghs of Jedburgh, Haddington, &c. Capt. James Fall.
Shire of Selkirk. John Murray of Philiphaugh.
Shire of Sterling. Sir J. Campbell of Ardinglass, Bart.
Shire of Sutherland. Sir J. Ferguson, of Kilkerran, Bart.
Shire of Wigtoun. Col. Dalrymple.
Burghs of Wigtoun, N. Galloway, &c. Capt. James Stewart.



F I N I S.



T H E

*Historical Register.******
N U M B E R LXXIX.
*****

PARLIAMENTARY Affairs having entirely taken up the two last Numbers of our Register, we had no Room for Foreign; nor, in Reality, did any Thing happen abroad, within that Time, of so much Consequence to *Britain* as what passed at Home. Nevertheless, as several foreign Transactions may merit our Notice, as well as excite our Curiosity; and as many of them may regard this Nation in a particular Manner hereafter, we shall now give due Attention to them, and begin with some amongst our next Neighbours the *French*.

F R A N C E.

THOUGH *France* had the highest Obligation to *Great Britain*, for a Neutrality which has so visibly facilitated the Conquest of *Italy* for the Allies, and consequently *Britain* had all the Reason in the World to expect the most grateful Returns from a Power whom She had so particularly obliged, yet the 4th of *November*, N.S. the following extraordinary Edict was published in *Paris*.

By the KING.

HIS Majesty being informed, that there is a considerable Number of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, in his good City of *Paris*, and spread over the other Towns and Provinces of his Kingdom, the greatest Part of whom have serv'd in his Troops, and even in the Regiments

ments of their Nation, who are in his Pay ; and being resolved not to suffer within his Dominions Persons *who are here as Vagabonds*, and without any visible Support, when at the same Time they may be usefully employ'd in the said Regiments, his Majesty expressly enjoins all the *Irish, English, and Scotch*, who are in his good City of *Paris*, and in other Towns and Places of his Kingdom, *without Callings or Employments*, from the Age of Eighteen to Fifty, and able to carry Arms, *whether they have or have not been heretofore in the Irish Regiments* which are in his Majesty's Service, to repair immediately to the Garrisons mention'd at the Foot of these Presents, where the said Regiments now actually are, and there to join and take on with them ; under the Penalty, to such as have already served, to be treated as Deserters, according to the Rigour of the Ordinances, and the others *to be treated as Vagabonds, and condemned to the Gallies*. His Majesty also orders and commands all Provosts of the *Marechaussy*, and other Officers of the Short Robe, to seek after and seize those of the said Nations, who in Disobedience to the present Ordinance shall be found in *Paris*, or in any of the other Cities, Towns, and Places of this Kingdom, 15 Days after it has been made publick, to be proceeded against according to the Contents of it. And his Majesty being willing to facilitate the Means of the said *Irish, English, and Scotch*, to go and join the said Regiments, they shall be permitted to repair within the said Space of 15 Days after the Publication hereof, to the Intendants in his Provinces, to receive Orders from them what they are to do ; but his Majesty will also be understood, that those who, after having received such Orders, shall fail to observe them, shall be punished as Deserters.

And his Majesty likewise orders and commands all Governors and Lieutenant-Generals in his Provinces and Armies, all Governors of Towns and Places, all Intendants in his said Provinces, and all Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, their Lieutenants, and other Officers, to be aiding and assisting in the Execution of these Presents, which shall, by Order of the Intendants, be publish'd and fix'd up in all Places where Occasion may require ; to the End that none may pretend Cause of Ignorance hereof.

Given at Fontainbleau, the 2d Day of November, 1734.

Sign'd, LOUIS.

And underneath, Bauyn.

As soon as this Edict appeared, what they call the Officers of the Short Robe in *France* immediately put it in Execution with the utmost Severity and Rigour; a great many *British* Subjects were immediately seiz'd, and the Prisons of *Paris* began to be crowded with *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, all destin'd by the Court of *Versailles*, either to carry a Musket, or be sent to the Gallies. None of those injured Persons were even permitted to advertise their Friends and *French* Acquaintances of the cruel Treatment they met with, and several of them having been surprized as well as taken, they must have perished in Gaol through Hunger and Cold, at that Time of the Year, had it not been for the active Charity of the *Jansenists*, who found Means to send them Relief. Such a Proceeding could not be long a Secret in *Britain*; the next Mail brought us an Account of it, and the *Daily Post* began to make so brisk an Opposition on this Side of the Water, to that inhuman Proceeding, while his Excellency the Earl of *Waldegrave*, his Majesty's Embassador in *Paris*, made such vigorous Remonstrances to the Court of *France*, that the *French* Ministry found they had taken a very wrong Step in so critical a Conjunction. They immediately explain'd their Edict by another; the Prisons were then open'd, and the *British* Subjects set at Liberty; but in the mean Time the following Letter dated from *Paris*, was inserted in the *Daily Post* of the 18th of *November* last, which we think deserves a Place here, not only as it is a very good Picture of the *French* Court Gratitude; but as it may contribute hereafter to cure the Youth of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* of the Itch of gadding to *France* in quest of Military Preferment.

Extract of a Letter from a *British* Subject in *Paris*, to his Friend in *London*, dated Nov. 24.

S I R,

I GAVE you an Account in my last, that an Order had been publish'd here the 2d Instant for all the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* in *France*, without Business or Employment, from the Age of Eighteen to Fifty, whether they had or had not been heretofore in the Service of his Majesty, to repair forthwith to the *Irish* Regiments, under the Penalties, to such as had already served, to be treated as Deserters, according to the Rigour of the Ordinances; and to those who had never served, to be punish'd as Vagabonds, and sent to the Gallies; with strict

Injunctions to all his Majesty's Provosts, and Officers of the Short Robe, to be careful in apprehending *all such of the said Nations*, who, contrary to the said Order, should be found in the Kingdom fifteen Days after the Publication thereof. You may easily imagine how great an Alarm so unjust, and, I may say, so inhuman an Order was to us all : It immediately threw us into a Reflection on the contrary Treatment which the *French Refugees* receive in the Dominions of *Great Britain* ; and this Reflection was the more afflicting to us, as their Case is widely different from ours : Those *Refugees* are undoubtedly Objects worthy of Compassion and Relief, because they generously quitted their Country and their All, to obey the Dictates of their Conscience ; but we did the same, with this additional Merit, that our Swords and our Blood have, in a very great Measure, contributed not only to the Preservation, but even to the Aggrandizement of *France*. One would then have thought that the Services of a *Berwick*, a *Mountcashel*, a *Sarsfield*, a *Fitzgerald*, a *Cook*, a *Dorrington*, a *Hook*, a *Sheldon*, a *Dillon*, a *Lee*, an *O-Brian*, with a Crowd of gallant Officers of the three Nations, whom I have not Room to mention, and that the intrepid Bravery of our Troops upon all Occasions, might have purchased a Repose for the few that are left of us. One would have thought that while *Landen*, *Marsaille*, *Barcelona*, *Spire*, *Almanza*, *Blenheim*, *Ramillies*, *Thoulon*, and several other Theatres of good and bad Fortune to *France*, are remember'd in History, and that as long as *Cremona* wears Walls, the House of *Bourbon* would never forget the Obligations it owes us : But *Tempora mutantur* ! We who were called the Defenders of *France* in the Reign of *Louis XIV.* are now most gratefully treated with the glorious Titles of *Vagabonds* and *Deserters*, and most generously promised the happy Condition of *Galley-Slaves* by the Ministers of his Successor : But alas ! *Louis le Grand* is no more. This is the Reward of all our past Services ; this is the Recompence of the Loss of our Blood and our Fortunes ! Such a Recompence as, no Doubt, will encourage our Fellow Subjects at home to crowd over here, and share our fortunate Acquisitions ! But whether this arbitrary Method of *PRESSING British Subjects into the Service of France*, or threatening them with the courtly Alternative of the Gallies, squares with the Tenor of the Treaties still subsisting between the two Crowns, is what must be humbly left to the Consideration of those Gentlemen who watch over

over the Liberties, the Interest, and the Honour of Great Britain. Such of our Countrymen whose happier Stars conducted them into the Service of the *House of Austria*, have met with a Treatment suitable to their Bravery and Merit, and the Generosity and Virtue of the *Germans*: Several of them have reach'd the highest Military Honours and Preferment. No *British* Subject was ever yet treated as a *Vagabond* in *Germany*; but Caresses and Rewards were the constant Companions of their Courage: Count *Taaf*, General *Wallis*, alias *Walsh*, General *O Dwyer*, Count *O Neal*, Brigadier-General *Nealan*, and many whose Names have escaped my Memory, made ample Fortunes in the Emperor's Service; and the late General Count *Brown*, who dy'd but last Year, left above 2,500,000 *German Florins* to his Family; an eternal Monument of the Gratitude of the *House of Austria*, and a Sum ten Times greater than all the *Irish* this Day in *France* can make up together, though the *French* Service has drain'd *Ireland* of above 100,000 of its Inhabitants since the Rendition of *Limerick*.

But instead of being as happy as our Fellow-Subjects and Countrymen in *Germany*, the Little which any of us had got, either by Industry, or some lucky Hit of Fortune, was arbitrarily torn from us again by the *Visa*; and if our being poor must now bring us within the Meaning of the Term *Vagabonds*, and subject us to the Cruelty of this Order for recruiting the *Irish* Regiments, the Court of *France* ought to consider, that nothing but our Zeal for her Interest, and her own Ingratitude and Injustice to us, after her Turn was serv'd, could ever have forced the major Part of us into Poverty.

I am, Yours, &c.

A. B.

P. S. As it would have been much more natural for the *French* Court, in the present Juncture, to force *Spaniards* and *Italians* into their Service rather than *Britons*, one might have reasonably expected to see those Nations, and even *Dutchmen*, *Swedes*, and *Danes*, included in this Order; but it seems that *France* thinks no Nation can produce *Vagabonds*, but *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

When the *French* Ministers found how highly *Great Britain* resented their Proceedings, some Emiffaries were immediately slipt over here; who assiduously went about the

the Town whispering amongst the People, that no such Edict had ever been publish'd in *France*, but was forged here expressly to animate the *British* Nation against the *French*. So unfair a Proceeding, which was adding an Accusation of Forgery to the Insult which *Britain* had already received from the *French* Court, was quickly discover'd, and occasioned the inserting the foregoing Edict in the *Daily Post* of the 8th of *January*, with the eight following Remarks on it.

1. That the Laws of *France* do not punish their own Vagabonds with the Gallies.

2. That Soldiers once discharged, cannot by any Martial Law be punished as Deserters for not taking on again.

3. That fixing the Term of Vagabonds on no other Strangers in *France* but the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, is not only affronting the three *British* Nations, but placing them below the rest of Mankind.

4. That forcing the *British* Subjects into the Service of *France*, is a Violation of the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

5. That as several of them were actually taken up and imprisoned by Virtue of the said Order; such a Proceeding was another Violation of the said Treaty.

6. That making a Law to punish the *British* Subjects in *France*, in a severer Manner than the *French* themselves are liable to be punish'd, was another Violation of the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

7. That the Order is equivocal, as to Permission for the *British* Subjects to leave the Kingdom of *France*; and were it not so, the Time allow'd them for quitting it was by much too short, and consequently restricted to 15 Days, with no other Design, than to force them into the Service.

8. That by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, every *British* Subject has a Right to go to *France*, and stay there as long as he pleases, let his Circumstances be what they will while he behaves himself according to the known Laws of the Land; and it was upon this very Article, that *France* refused to give up a certain Person to the Demand of the whole *British* Nation.

The LIST of the *Irish* Regiments in the *French* Service is as follows.

H O R S E.

Duke Fitz James's, Son to the late Duke of *Berwick*.

FOOT

F O O T.

Major General Bulkley's ; Lord Clare's ; Lord Dillon's ;
Lieutenant General Rooth's ; Duke of Berwick's.

These Regiments of Foot consist of fifteen Companies each, all double Officer'd. The Horse consists of fifteen Troops, likewise double Officer'd. There are besides, four Brigades of *Irish* Officers in *France* : So that the whole Number of *Irish* Officers in *France* amount to about 1000, besides Serjeants, Corporals, Drums, and private Men.

One would have thought that so vigorous an Opposition to that Way of recruiting those Regiments, and so high a Resentment shewn by the Publick here, would have made *France* a little more cautious in the Recruiting Affair ; but so far from it, that she pour'd in Recruiters upon us more openly than she had ever been known to do before. Some were taken up at *Dover*, some in the North of *England*, and others in *London* ; however, we hear but of One that was brought to a Trial ; the rest either made their Escapes, or ———. Fifteen of their Recruits were taken at *Gravesend*, and 92 at *Dublin* ; but they were all discharged sometime after ; whereas it is Death in *Ireland*, to enlist into Foreign Service, without a Royal Licence from the Crown. Whether the Recruiters that came from *France* last Spring had any such Licence, or any private Encouragement or Permission from the Government, is what has not yet appear'd ; but it is certain, that nothing of that Nature since the Revolution, was ever carry'd on in *England* with more bare-faced Impudence, or with greater Impunity.

While the *Irish* Officers from *France* were busily recruiting in this Kingdom and *Ireland*, the *French* King publish'd an Ordinance, granting his Pardon to all *English*, *Scottish*, or *Irish*, who had deserted before the 1st of November, provided they enter'd themselves in any of the *Irish* Regiments in his Service, before the 1st of May following.

This Ordinance also produced an Extract of another Letter in the *Daily Post* of December 5, which, as it is pretty historical, and may serve for a good Lesson to those *British* and *Irish* Youth, who, through Want of Experience,

Experience, are so fond of the Service of *France*, we give it a Place in our *Register*.

Extract of a Private Letter from Paris, dated Dec. 6.

TO make a Sort of Amends for the Order of the 26th of last Month, relating to the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, in the Dominions of His Most Christian Majesty, an Amnesty was publish'd here the 25th of the same Month, for all Deserters of the three Nations, that should return to their respective Regiments before the 1st of next May. But as most *British* Subjects are become thoroughly sick of the Service of *France*, (and good Reason they have to be so!) is it consistent with common Sense to imagine, that those who deserted on Account of ill Usage, will be wheedled back again, by the Promise of a Pardon, which they can never stand in need of, as long as they have the Grace to keep out of the Kingdom? Their Hardships and Sufferings are yet too recent to leave us any Room to believe them such Fools, when they can speed much better elsewhere: Their Treatment was but indifferent enough, even in the Time of *Lewis XIV.* but it has been much worse since his Death. At the Siege of Fort *Khel*, a Soldier, a Subject of *Great Britain*, was hang'd for cutting a half-penny Cabbage in a Peasant's Garden; the Orders against Marodng were indeed, very strict and severe, but all the World cry'd out at the Cruelty of the Execution; to see a beautiful brave young Fellow in his first Campaign, led to the Gallows for a Half-penny: His Countrymen could not digest the Affront put upon them; they deserted by Hundreds to the *Germans*, where they were sure of better Usage, and more Justice: In a Word, the Desertion became so universal, that some *Irish* Regiments lost above half their Complement, and the General was forced to send them to *Strasbourg*, as being too weak to appear in the Field. Nor was this Desertion only for a Spirt, or the Effect of a little present Resentment: No, it continued: The Men sought all Opportunities to regain their Freedom, and boldly laid hold on them whenever they offer'd: They went off in Shoals, by Fifties and Sixties in a Body; and what is wonderful in Men of such Class, we have no Instance of any one of them having ever betray'd his Comrades in their Plan to get away, which shews, that their Aversion to *France* was become altogether as great, as her Ingratitude to them had been notorious.

notorious. Wherefore, as they went over to the Imperial Service with Hearts full of Resentment and Revenge; I believe they will hardly return to us again, except it be *la Bayonette au bout du Fuzil*.

So much for the French Recruiting Affair, let us come to other Articles.

On the 24th of December, an Edict was published in Paris, and sent to all Coffee-houses, Taverns, Ale-houses, and other Places of publick Resort, forbidding all Manner of Conversation or Discourse, either on the Affairs of Poland, or about the News from the Army in Italy: From whence we may judge what a happy Life the poor People of France must have; for in all such Cases, we may depend on it, that all publick Places would be immediately filled with that Vermin call'd Informers, who not only lay Traps for drawing Men in to say something that is forbidden, but often give Informations entirely false, or wrest and misrepresent what has been said in such a Manner, as to involve the unhappy Speaker in a criminal Accusation; and this often with no other View but to shew their Diligence: This, our Coffee-house Politicians, in this Country, ought to consider seriously; and let them recollect, that 'till the Parliaments of France became entirely dependant on the Crown, there was as much Liberty in that Country as there is now in this.

His Most Christian Majesty likewise issued out another Order, that the Revenues of all vacant Bishopricks in France, which have usually been esteemed sacred, and applied only to the Uses of the Church, shall, for the future, be paid into his Treasury, for the Use of the War: His Majesty rightly judging, that they cannot be applied to a more sacred Use than that of the Ease of his People.

The French East-India Stock continues to rise every Day; they have lately received several Ships from the Island of Bourbon, Pondicherry, Mahe, Bengal, and China, richly laden; their Trade to that Part of the World is so vastly improved, that 12 Ships arrived from thence to them before the End of August 1734; and on the 4th of October following, their India Company put up to Sale, at Port L'Orient, in Bretagne, the following Goods, Coffee, Tea, Drugs, and other Goods, by the Pound Weight, 5,334,712 lb, Callicoes, Stuffs, &c. by the Piece;

Z

387,820

387,820 Pieces, 4284 Packets of Canes, 500 ditto Malack, 71 Handkerchiefs of *Casembazard* for Sample 39 Handkerchiefs painted, for Samples; 5000 Fans 2124 Sheets of Paper painted; 28,000 Counters and Filhes, Mother of Pearl; 1992 Cabarets of Varnish fundry; 55 Chests of China Ware, fundry; 189 Rolls ditto.

We shall conclude our Article of *France*, with a remarkable Action of the young Prince of *Conti*, in Hope it will excite an Emulation in our young Noblemen in Case of a War.

The Prince of *Conti*, who is in great Esteem among the People of *France*, especially among the Soldiers raised his Character much, by an Action which happened at the Siege of *Philipsbourg*: That young Prince, who was then but 17, being present at one of the hottest Actions which happen'd at that Siege, and charm'd with the intrepid Behaviour of a Grenadier, he threw the brave Soldier his Purse, and at the same Time made an Excuse for the smallness of the Sum it contain'd, as being too poor a Reward for his valiant Behaviour. The next Morning the Grenadier went to the Prince, with a Pair of large Diamond Buckles, a Diamond Ring, and other Jewels of considerable Value, which he had found in the Purse; and after being introduced to the Prince he presented him with the Jewels, saying, 'The God I found in your Purse I suppose your Highness intended for me, but these I bring back to you, because I think I have no Right to them. Yes, reply'd the Prince, you have a Right to them; you have doubly deserved them, first, by your Bravery, and next by your Honesty; for which Reason they are yours; make the best Use of them you can, and remember you received them from me, as a Reward for your Courage and Virtue.'

P O R T U G A L.

THE present Breach between *Spain* and *Portugal* having already put the *British* Nation to an Expence of 50,000*l.* a Month, we believe an impartial Account of that Affair will be agreeable to our Readers, especially as it may still have Consequences in which all *Europe*

and particularly *Great Britain*, may be highly concerned. The Cause of the Quarrel was, an Affront pretended to have been put upon the *Portuguese* Minister at *Madrid*; but as there have been very different Accounts of that Transaction, published by each Court, we shall give them both as we found them, and leave Time to determine the Event, as well as which Side is in the Right.

Manifesto of M. de Belmonte, Minister of Portugal at the Court of Madrid.

ON the 22d of *February*, a Violence, hitherto unheard-of, was committed against my House, of which I apprised the Ministers of the foreign Powers the same Day; but as the Person I sent to acquaint them therewith, might omit some Circumstances of the Fact, I thought it proper to put in Writing, for their fuller Information, the whole Affair as it happen'd.

On Sunday, the 20th Instant, at five o'Clock in the Afternoon, a Man upon an Ass, conducted by some Officers of Justice, and some Soldiers, of the Village of *Alcavendas*, being come through the Gate of *Alcala*, as far as the little Bridge, which is in the Middle of the publick Walk of the *Pardo*, where there was a great Number of People and Coaches, on Account of the Holiday, and particularly the last Sunday in the Carnival, the Man who was conducting to Prison cry'd out for Help, saying, he was taken out of a Church, and that the Papers serving for his Justification were forced out of his Pocket. The People gathered upon his thus crying out, and were joined by two of my Footmen, and an infinite Number of other Persons. The Soldiers and Officers of Justice of the Village, pretending to be intimidated by the Multitude, and so many Men in different Liveries, abandoned the Prisoner, with little or no Resistance, whom the others conducted to my House.

I was then in my Garden with the *Chevalier de Boree*, Minister of the King of *Sardinia*, where one came to acquaint me with what had passed. I immediately order'd, that my Footmen who were concern'd in the Fray should be stripp'd of their Liveries; and being told that they all deny'd their having been present thereat, I order'd them all to be turn'd out of Doors immediately: Four of my Footmen that were in the Fray, two of whom were only Spectators, were stripp'd of their Liveries, and dismissed my Service: The Prisoner was

also turn'd out of my House; and I wrote to the Governor of the Council of *Castile*, in pressing Terms, testifying to him my utmost Regret of all that passed, so contrary to my Regard to Justice and his Majesty's Orders: I added, that I had turn'd away those of my Domesticks who were concerned in that Affair, that there might be no Obstacle in the Way to the Punishment they might deserve.

The Result of my Politeness, and so authentick a Proof of my Attention, was, that on the 22d Instant, a great Number of Soldiers, of those call'd *los Blanquillos*, headed by three Officers, forced themselves into my House, with their Bayonets fixed to their Pieces, and seized some of my Domesticks that were under the Portico, and upon the great Staircase: Having enter'd even my Antichamber, they had already taken one of my Pages, when I went myself, and demanded of them, what Orders they had to commit such an Outrage against my House? One of them returned for Answer, That they had an Order from the King to seize all my Servants Servants in general, without any Exemption, but especially those wearing my Livery, and to conduct them to the publick Prisons, and moreover to search every where for those of my Servants that did not appear. I asked that Officer, if he had that Order in Writing? He answer'd me in the Negative; but that his Officer, who had a verbal Order, had given him the same in like Manner, and that they were come to execute it. I reply'd then, That as I had no other Arms at Hand than the Immunity of my Character, which I saw so cruelly and outrageously violated, I should take no other Step than to retire, to avoid being an Eye-Witness of so unheard-of a Proceeding.

The Soldiers took nineteen of my Domesticks, as well of the Livery as others, handcuffed them two and two, and conducted them through the most publick Streets of *Madrid*, and in the same Livery, to Prison.

This, Gentlemen, is a faithful Recital of that Fact, so violent and unheard-of before, which entirely destroys the Laws of Nations, and breaks through all that is Sacred, among the most barbarous Nations, who, inspir'd by Reason and Nature, preserve the Immunity of publick Ministers.

In Answer to this Manifesto, the following Letter was sent by the *Spanish* Court, to all the foreign Ministers residing at *Madrid*, and communicated by them to their respective Courts.

S I R,

THOUGH the extraordinary Circumstances which attended the Enterprize made the 20th Instant, by the Minister of *Portugal* and his Domesticks, are so well known, that they justify the Resolution the King took the 22^d, to cause the guilty Domesticks to be arrested in whatever Place they could be found; yet, as the same was executed in the Hotel of that Minister, his Majesty has commanded me to communicate to your Excellency, the Motives which obliged him to take that Resolution, to the End that not only your Excellency may be convinced of the indispensable Necessity he was under, considering the Temerity of that Minister, to have Recourse to such violent Methods, but also be assured, that the King and his Ministers observe, with the utmost Exactness, the Regards which are owing to the Character of the Ministers of Sovereign Powers, who reside at this Court.

The publick Attack committed by that Minister's Domesticks, upon the Soldiers and Officers of Justice, who were conducting thro' the Gate of *Alcala*, a Prisoner guilty of a very atrocious Murder, and the seizing and carrying off the same Prisoner out of the Hands of the Officers of Justice, so near the Palace of *Buen Retiro*, make it appear, that they not only assume to themselves a publick Protection of Criminals, to the Prejudice of the Authority and Sovereignty of the King; but at the same Time one may see a manifest Violation of the Royal Residence, which has been hitherto regarded as a Place sacred, as well by the Natives of the Country as Foreigners; and so worthy of Respect, that the least Violation committed within its Territory was worthy of Death. The Precaution taken to place a Person at the Gate of the City, to watch the Arrival of the Prisoner, which makes it suspected the Enterprize was a premeditated Design, and was the Cause, without Doubt, that the Arrival of the said Criminal was instantly known in the House of the Minister, excludes all Presences, which Incidents on any other Occasion might have furnish'd. The Manner in which the Prisoner was conducted

conducted from the Gate of the Palace, with a View to excite a Tumult, by dint of Cries, that deserved Punishment, in the Midst of a Concourse of so many People in a publick Walk, exposed the King's Sovereignty, and dishonoured his Right in the publick Streets. The Liberty granted to the Criminal, whose Irons were taken off after his coming into the Minister's House, and who was afterwards exposed in the Windows, to the View of the Spectators, makes it evidently appear, how much the Authority of those was despised who caused him to be taken.

These Circumstances did not permit Decency, nor the Sovereign Authority to dissemble, or to leave unpunish'd an Attempt of this Nature, much less that an Affair so publick should pass over without a publick Satisfaction: Nevertheless the Punishment was deferred 'till the third Day, tho' the Guilty had not given his Majesty the least Tokens of their Repentance: And, though it is pretended that a Letter was written to the Governor of the Council of *Castile*, which was but an indirect Way to acquaint the King of the Affair, it being well known, that the dangerous Indisposition of the said Governor hinder'd him from receiving and answering Letters: But if even an Attention should be made to that Letter, what Fault might not that Minister be accused of? He owns therein, that he gave Liberty to the Criminal, approving thereby the Conduct of his Domesticks; and says, that he did it immediately after he was brought to his House, and was acquainted with the Affair: It is, however, well known, that the Minister was then walking in his Garden; that the Criminal stay'd above thirty Hours in his House, and was afterwards conducted with much Precaution to a Place of Safety: He says he has turn'd away his Footmen, and they were all found at his House; so that all he alledges for his Justification, proves on the contrary his Fault, forgetting thereby the Respect which is owing to a Monarch in his own Court, and which every Sovereign will maintain without the least Infraction. Wherefore his Majesty persuades himself, that your Excellency will easily comprehend, that the present Case cannot be compared to any of those, wherein Fugitives may, for some Time, enjoy an *Asylum* in the Houses of characterrized Ministers; nor to those, wherein Liberty, with Regard to Person or Place, may take Effect. Dated at the Pardo, Feb. 28, 1733. Signed,

Don Joseph Patinhe

And in further Justification of this Affair, the following Piece was likewise publish'd here, viz.

A Letter from a Person of Note to his Friend, concerning the arresting the Servants of M. Cabral, Lord of Belmonte, at the Court of Spain, and on the Incident that occasion'd it.

S I R,

I Justly expected, that when you had read what was published in the *Amsterdam Gazette*, under the specious Title of Manifesto of M. de Belmonte, Minister of Portugal at the Court of Madrid, you would suspend your Judgment, and not suffer yourself to be prepossessed in Favour of one Party, but would also hear the other impartially: For how could one imagine that a Monarch, full of Equity and Moderation, had designedly done an egregious Insult to the Minister of a neighbouring King, to whom his Majesty is not only related by the respectful Bonds of a double Alliance, but also by a Friendship which has hitherto subsisted, notwithstanding all that might have alter'd it. You have judged, Sir, that his Catholick Majesty would not have made Use of all his Authority on this Occasion, but for Motives worthy of his Piety and Wisdom, which are known through all the World, and you have judged very right.

But how can all these Ideas, reasonable as they are, be reconciled with the Writing published by M. Cabral de Belmonte? I know but one Way for it, that is, by adding to his Relation all the Facts he has omitted; and to tell you plainly what has been dissembled in it, to impose upon the Readers. By giving you the whole Fact as it happen'd, I shall avoid a World of Discussions which will fall to the Ground. The Justice of it will plainly appear, when it is not clouded with superfluous Circumstances.

A Countryman who kept a Farm at Argette, a Village in the Neighbourhood of Madrid, having committed one of those base Murders, the Heinousness of which stifles that Pity one is apt to have for unfortunate Criminals, took Sanctuary in the Church of that Place; from whence he was taken by the Officers of Justice, by Virtue of a Warrant from the President of Castile. The 10th of February he was bound on an Ass, and carry'd to Madrid,

Madrid, guarded by the Officers of the Criminal Court, to whom six invalid Soldiers were added, to enforce the greater Awe on the Spectators. This was the last Sunday before *Lent* in the Afternoon. They enter'd *Madrid* through the Gate of *Alcala*, and arrived at the Bridge that is between the two publick Walks, called the *Pardo*, from whence there is about a Quarter of a Mile's Distance to any House in the City, and particularly to that of *M. de Belmonte*. That Minister lodging in a Street so wide, that it may be called a great Place, (much like our *New Palace Yard*) on a sudden all the Livery Servants rushed out of this Minister's House, and fell so briskly on the Invalids, that they forced them to retire; after which, they rescu'd the Criminal and his Ass from the Officers, and with triumphant Shouts they made him enter the *Portugal Minister's House*, where they unbound him, and brought him to *Madam Cabral's Apartment*.

Thus far, Sir, you might be allow'd to think that Minister had no Share in the Attempt of his Servants: But this last Circumstance solves that Difficulty, for *Madam Cabral* not only promised but granted him her Protection. The Mob which had gather'd upon Sight of the Prisoner, encreased when they saw him deliver'd by the Footmen: This Multitude, that was before the Gate, waited to see the Decision of this Fray; and whilst the Criminal was shewed them from an upper Window, being set at full Liberty, some of the Footmen, carrying the Insult and Bravado to the utmost, gave the Mob the Sport of seeing them drive the Ass which had brought the Criminal, up and down the Streets.

If you would believe *M. Cabral*, as soon as one of his Men had brought him Word of what had passed, he order'd such of his Footmen who had been in the Riot, to be stripp'd of their Liveries: But he adds, *The same Man being come to tell me, that all deny'd their having been concerned in it, I order'd (if it was so) that they should be discharged immediately.* But do not you believe, Sir, that this Order was punctually obey'd. *M. Cabral* tells you himself, towards the Close of this Manifesto, *That they were taken from his House two Days thereafter, with his Livery on their Backs.* What he says concerning the Prisoner is equally true; neither would I have him (says he) to stay one Moment in my House. Four Footmen who had been in the Quarrel, two of whom had been only Spectators, were stripp'd of their Liveries, and immedi-

ately turned out of my Service. The Prisoner was also turned out of my House. I just told you, that those very Footmen were, the Tuesday following, at that Minister's House with their Liveries, where they were known and taken. As for the Murderer, he was full thirty Hours at the said Minister's House, and came out of his Sanctuary but the Tuesday Morning: At last, a Sort of Forethought of what really happen'd, made them think to put him in a Place of Security; he went out of the House in a Coach, and this last Favour compleated his Deliverance.

Perhaps you will be surprized, that after so glaring an Attempt as that, committed in the View of all the People, in a publick Place, almost under the Walls of the Royal Palace of *Buen Retiro*, in so outrageous a Manner, and with so bare-faced an Attempt of the Royal Authority, the Court should have delay'd its Resentment till the third Day: Indeed it might well be wonder'd at, if People did not know how much those Acts of Authority, which the Majesty of the Throne render necessary, are opposite to his Catholick Majesty's Clemency. Though he was inform'd of this Disorder as soon as it happen'd, his Majesty expected that *M. Cabral* should come of himself, to endeavour to vindicate so unjustifiable a Proceeding, and would help his Majesty to find him innocent: But that Minister, who had this Way left him, was too conscious of the Irregularity of his Conduet to make Use of it. He absconded from Court, and instead of applying to *M. Patinho*, as any other would have done on that Occasion, he thought it sufficient to write a Letter to the President of *Castile*, who forbore to give him an Answer. That Magistrate, who was too sick to read that Letter, or to write, knew that the King had taken Cognizance of that Affair, and so it was not fit for him to enter into a Discussion with a foreign Minister, who has other Means to let his Majesty know what might justify his Proceedings.

Besides, the Letter contained nothing but Facts which all *Madrid* could disprove. He therein supposes Servants stripp'd of their Liveries, and discharged, and the Criminal to have made his Escape. Every-Body knew the contrary; that the Servants would not be punished for a Thing they had not done without Orders; and, in short, that the Murderer was then at the *Portuguese* Minister's House, since he went from thence but the next Day after the Letter was wrote. When it appeared

that this Minister had so little Regard for an Affair of that Consequence, the Court being no longer able to dissemble an Outrage done to the Royal Majesty, in the Sight of a whole Capital City, at the Gates of its Palace ; the Court (I say) sent proper Persons to apprehend that insolent and seditious Livery, and clapp'd them in Prison. This is what *M. Cabral* calls a Violation of his Character.

I leave other Persons to examine, whether the Prerogatives of a Minister, who is neither Embassador, Envoy, nor Resident, but only a Minister without any Qualification or Title, are as ample as those of Representing Ministers ? I'll grant that they be equal, in Favour of *M. Cabral* ; but what will he gain by that ? Do these Immunities, these Prerogatives, extend so far as to allow them to commit a publick Violence, that takes away, in his very Capital City, from the very Sovereign he is sent to, that Jurisdiction he has, by all Divine and human Laws, over his Subjects ? A Minister is under the Protection of the Law of Nations : That is true ; but is he allowed to infringe himself that Sacred Law, from the Protection of which, he claims such great Advantages to himself ? And if he annuls it himself by his Conduct, can he have Recourse to it in Case of Need ? These Queries, Sir, are very easily decided.

But I foresee an Objection ; you will tell me, that by *M. Cabral's* Manifesto it appears, he did not know the Prisoner, and that he had no Motives to protect him. Would you have him acquaint the Publick, that this Murderer used to furnish the Barley and Straw used in his Stables ? That he was very nearly related to one of his Footmen ? That since he had committed this Crime, till the Day the Murderer was brought into *Madrid*, his Wife had been several Times forwards and backwards, in order to obtain his Protection ? That Spies were kept at the Gates through which he must enter the Town, in order to give Notice of his Coming ? And that lastly, if we may give Credit to the general Report, 100 Pistoles had been distributed among the Servants to encourage them ? Had these Facts been acknowledged, how could the Part taken in the Rescue of the Prisoner, have been dissembled ? Or how could so bold a Step as this Rescue, done by open Force, and with such aggravating Circumstances, have been softned or excused ?

I forbear, Sir, to throw in here a Number of Reflections that will naturally occur to you. I shall only add
one

one Fact, perhaps unknown to you, and which ought to have been a Lesson to *M. Cabral*, who was a Witness thereof. The Court being at *Seville* in 1733, the King gave the Publick Ministers to understand, that they were not to snatch out of the Hand of the Officers of Justice, such Criminals as should happen to pass through their Streets, or before their Doors; because that both there and at *Madrid*, there were so great a Number of Ministers Hotels, and Churches, that no Streets will be found to carry the Criminals to Gaol with Safety. This Proposal, so well adapted to the Publick Good, passed without any Opposition on their Part, and was ratify'd by a general Consent. A Minister's Servants fell in the said Case; the Soldiers and Officers of Justice enter'd his House, took the Criminal, seized the Aggressors, and all the Ministers blamed him who had given Occasion to that disagreeable Necessity.

Such is the Custom of the Court of *Spain*, and which *M. Cabral* knows was establish'd with the Consent of the publick Ministers, who from that very Time condemn'd his late Conduct. If what I have now told you, does not seem sufficient to remove the Illusion that Minister attempts to impose upon the Credulous, I'll give you ample Satisfaction thereon with Pleasure.

I am, Sir, &c.

If the *Spanish* Court has represented the Facts as they really were, the *Portuguese* Minister was very much to blame; nor does he seem altogether excusable, were they even as he represented them himself; for in so extraordinary a Case, he ought himself to have seen the Criminal turn'd out of his House. However, it must be acknowledged at the same Time, that the *Spanish* Court acted with a great deal too much Precipitation; for as this Breach of the Peace might have been, and probably was, committed without the Privity of the Ambassador, they ought surely to have sent to demand Reparation of him, before they offered to assault his House in such a violent Manner: Nay, as the immediate Safety of the State was no Way concern'd in this Affair, the proper Way of proceeding, even upon his refusing to give Reparation, was to have forbid him their Court, and to have sent directly to his Master, to demand Satisfaction for this Affront that was put upon them by his Minister; for when a publick Minister, or any of his Domesticks, have been guilty of a Crime, and he refuses, or perhaps

has wilfully put it out of his Power to make Satisfaction, the Law of Nations cannot admit that he or his Domesticks should be immediately taken into Custody, or his House assaulted, unless the Case be of such a Nature, that the Safety of the State to which he is sent, must be greatly endangered by the least Delay, or by giving the Criminal an Opportunity to escape.

Some Days after his *Portuguese* Majesty had been inform'd of the Imprisonment of his Minister's Servants at *Madrid*, the Marquess *de Capicelatro*, the King of *Spain's* Embassador at *Lisbon*, presented a Memorial to that Court, demanding Satisfaction from the King of *Portugal*, for the Behaviour of his Minister's Domesticks at *Madrid*, in rescuing a Criminal out of the Hand of Justice: That Embassador also complained, That notwithstanding the Knowledge which his *Portuguese* Majesty had of that Action, he had not forbid M. *Belmonte* the Court; and to this the *Spaniard* added, That if he did not receive immediate Satisfaction, he had Orders to retire forthwith. The King of *Portugal* likewise sent Orders to his Minister, to demand Satisfaction from the King of *Spain*, for the Violence done to his Character, as a Publick Minister, by imprisoning his Servants. And neither Court thinking it consistent with its Honour to give the reciprocal Satisfaction required, the Marquess *de Capicelatro* desired the Lord *Tyrarwey*, his *Britannick* Majesty's Minister, and Mynheer *de Til*, Minister from their High Mightinesses, both residing at *Lisbon*, to excuse him if his sudden Departure did not permit him to take his Leave of them in Form. The 12th of *March* that Embassador receiv'd a Courier from *Madrid* with Orders to retire from *Lisbon* to *Aldea-galega*, where he was to stay 'till he received further Commands; upon which, his Excellency presented a second Memorial, demanding to be furnish'd with the necessary Barks, for transporting his Household to the abovementioned Place. At Night a Cabinet Council, which sat very late, was held in his *Portuguese* Majesty's Apartment; and the 13th, at Eight in the Morning, a Detachment of *Grenadiers* surrounded the Marquess's Palace, from whence they took 19 Domesticks in his Livery, who were conducted, ty'd and pinion'd, to Prison, through the principal Streets of the City. During the Procession, one of the Servants made his Escape to M. *Til's* House; but the *Dutch* Minister, not being willing to hazard his Character in that Affair, immediately order'd him to be turn'd

turn'd out. After Dinner, the Embassador, with his Family and the Remainder of his Servants, embark'd at the most publick Place of *Lisbon*, call'd the Quay of *Torreyro de Paco*, where a prodigious Number of People were got together, and gave the Marquess a great deal of hard Language; but the King of *Portugal* expressing a generous Indignation at such a Proceeding, the Populace desisted from their Design to plunder the Embassador's Palace. The same Day *M. de Mendoga Corte Real*, Secretary of State, wrote the following Circular Letter to all the foreign Ministers at *Lisbon*.

S I R,

I Receiv'd a Letter yesterday from the Marquess *de Capicelatro*, his Catholick Majesty's Embassador here, in which he desir'd me to order Barks to be prepared, for carrying him and his Family to *Aldea-galega*, that he might obey the Orders he had received from Court: He further desir'd me to let him have Postillions for carrying his Letters to *Madrid*; and all this because, as he said, he had been refused the Satisfaction which his Court had order'd him to demand; that very Court which, of its own proper Motion ought rather to have given Satisfaction for the so scandalous Insult committed the 22d of last *February*, by forcing the House of his Majesty's Plenipotentiary at *Madrid*. It is notorious to all the World, what Violence has been committed, and still continued there, against the Rights and Privileges of publick Ministers, and against the Law of Nations. Moreover, the same Minister from his Catholick Majesty is now retiring from this Court; though the Servants of his Majesty's Embassador at *Madrid*, after so many Days close Imprisonment, are not yet set at Liberty. Thus, as it is become just, and absolutely necessary, to make Reprisals here on the Servants of that Embassador, his Majesty has resolv'd to cause his Intentions to be put into immediate Execution. His Majesty has also sent the Embassador the Orders he desir'd, and at the same Time, commanded me to give you this Detail of the Affair, that you may communicate it to your Court. His Majesty hopes that all impartial Men will see by it the Justice and Equity of his Resolution, especially since the common Interest of Princes obliges them to defend and support the Immunities of publick Ministers, which, in the present Case, render the Way of Reprisal equally

equally just, necessary and allowable. I beseech God to take you, Sir, in his holy Protection.

Lisbon, March 13,
1735.

Sign'd,

Don de Mendoga Corte Real

In the Evening the Secretary of State at Lisbon sent a second Letter to the same Ministers, and a Memorial along with it, entitled, *An Account of what has been sent to his (Portuguese) Majesty's Ministers in foreign Courts, the 8th of March, 1735, concerning the Violence committed against the House of his Plenipotentiary at Madrid, the 22d of February the same Year*: The Letter was as follows: .

S I R,

Notwithstanding the Detail I gave you to-day, I still think myself obliged to communicate to you the Account which I sent the 8th Instant, by his Majesty's Orders, to all his Ministers abroad; that being fully apprised, Sir, of the Truth of the Fact, you may more easily perceive how strangely it has been changed and disfigur'd by the Court of *Madrid*, in the Relation which that Court has given of it to the foreign Ministers residing there, as well as to her Embassador here; and which I believe you have already receiv'd a Copy. I beg of you to be thoroughly perswaded of my Inclinations to serve you, and am,

S I R, &c.

Lisbon, March 13,
1735.

Sign'd,

Don de Mendoga Corte Real

The Account which his *Portuguese* Majesty sent to his Ministers in foreign Courts, contains, after a short Preamble, the same Circumstances with those in *M. Belmonte's* Manifesto, deliver'd to the foreign Ministers at *Madrid*; and towards the Close of it are the following additional Particulars: After seizing *M. de Belmonte's* Domesticks, that Minister went to the *Pardo* in a hired Coach, to complain of the Insult; but found *Don Joseph Patinho* so little disposed in his Favour, that he had even more need of Patience and Temper to hear him, than to bear the Contempt and Disdain with which

that Minister receiv'd him. He told *M. de Belmonte*, That the Catholick King, inform'd of the Insolence which his Servants had dared to be guilty of, in the Neighbourhood of the *Buen Retiro*, look'd upon every Thing that had pass'd since, to be still by much too little to satisfy the Dignity of his Royal Authority; that moreover he (the Plenipotentiary) could claim no Rights or Immunities, inasmuch as he was not vested with a publick Character, and not having presented any Credentials, he could not, with the least Appearance of Reason or Justice, claim the Law of Nations. Upon which, *M. de Belmonte* reply'd, Would to God, Sir, that what your Excellency tells me were really true; for the Injury done to my Person would not be so sensible to me, if I did not see it so closely united to my Character: By this I find, Sir, that your Excellency has not been justly inform'd concerning my Affair; but if you please to give yourself the Trouble of looking into your Offices, you will there find Copies of my Credentials; you will there manifestly see, that I am Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of *Portugal*, &c.

This Conference plainly condemns the Proceedings of *Spain*. Was any Man ever yet suffer'd to act as a foreign Minister, in any Court in the World, without first shewing his Credentials? And if *M. de Belmonte* had presented his Credentials, as he says he did, and refers to the only Place for deciding the Matter, with what Assurance could *M. Patinho* deny him the Immunities due to his Character, or say, that he had no Right to claim the Law of Nations? So palpable a Blunder, or so arrogant an Injustice, destroys all the Assertions of the *Spanish* Ministers in this Affair; whilst, on the other Hand, it gives an Air of Candour and Ingenuity to what *M. Belmonte* has offer'd in his own Vindication. As soon as he order'd the Criminal to be put out of his House, whom his Domesticks had rescu'd, he wrote the following Letter to the President of the Council of *Castile*.

Most excellent Lord,

I AM inform'd, this very Moment, of the Insult which some of my Footmen, in Company with several others of different Liveries, in the *Pardo*, have committed, in forcing a Criminal from the Officers of Justice, whom they were conducting through the *Pardo*, to the Prison of the Court, and in afterwards sheltering that

that Minister in my House. I flatter myself, that the Respect and Veneration which I not only have for, but will likewise have, all my Family and Household pay to the Justice of his Majesty, will be sufficient to shew your Excellency, how sensible I ought to be and am of this Event. I acquaint you in the mean Time, that I have turn'd off those Footmen who committed the Insult, and that they are actually put out of my House. The Prisoner was also put out the same Instant. This I communicate to your Excellency, that you may proceed in the rest of the Affair, according as you shall think proper. I am always, &c.

Sign'd,

Madrid, Feb. 20.

D. P. de Cabral de Belmonte.

Upon this Breach between the two Courts, the Troops of both Kingdoms were order'd to march towards the Frontiers, though it be generally concluded, that *Portugal* is but very ill prepar'd for a Rupture; for of late Years they have very much neglected their military Affairs, having neither any great Number of regular Troops, nor any well disciplin'd Militia, to defend the Country in Case of an Attack; so that their chief Security seems at present to consist in the Absence of the greatest Part of the *Spanish* Army, and the Assistance they may expect, and will probably receive from some of the other Powers of *Europe*, in Case *Spain* should form any Design to conquer or oppress them.

Don Marcos Antonio d'Alvezeda was immediately dispatched hither with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary from the Court of *Lisbon*, and succeeded so well in his Commission, that soon after his Majesty's Departure for *Hanover*, Sir John Norris sailed from *Spithead* for *Lisbon*, with a strong Squadron under his Command to protect the *Portuguese* against the *Spaniards*. It consisted of the following Ships, which had 12840 chosen Men on Board, arm'd for Land or Sea-Service.

Rates.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Commanders.
1	<i>Britannia</i>	1894	100	Sir John Norris, Adm.
2	<i>Princess Amelia</i>	1570	90	Vice-Adm. Balchen,
2	<i>Namure</i>	1567	90	Rear-Adm. Haddock,
3	<i>Princess Caroline</i>	1350	80	Capt. Gerlington,
3	<i>Torbay</i>	1296	80	Piercey,
3	<i>Norfolk</i>	1350	80	Charlton,
3	<i>Grafton</i>	1133	70	Davers,
3	<i>Captain</i>	1131	70	Gaddis,
3	<i>Berwick</i>	1147	70	Clinton,
3	<i>Kent</i>	1130	70	Davis,
3	<i>Royal Oak</i>	1106	70	Solgard,
3	<i>Hampton Court</i>	1137	70	Mighells,
3	<i>Buckingham</i>	1150	70	Browne,
3	<i>Burford</i>	1147	70	Vanbrugh,
3	<i>Orford</i>	1098	70	Man,
4	<i>Dreadnought</i>	931	60	Medley,
4	<i>York</i>	987	60	Williams,
4	<i>Sunderland</i>	951	60	Martin,
4	<i>Defiance</i>	949	60	Trevor,
4	<i>Leopard</i>	762	50	Warren,
4	<i>Swallow</i>	711	50	Graves,
4	<i>Warwick</i>	756	50	Brooke,
4	<i>Deptford</i>	756	50	Cornwall,
4	<i>Pembroke</i>	756	50	Hervey,
4	<i>Litchfield</i>	756	50	Sir Y. Peyton,
6	<i>Greyhound</i>	371	20	Ambrose,
	<i>Pool Fireship</i>			Wallis,
	<i>Griffin Fireship</i>			Faulkner.

Sir John arriv'd at *Lisbon* on the 9th of *June*, where the Nobility of both Sexes resorted in great Numbers on Board, to view the Ships, the Fleet being the finest that had ever been seen in the *Tagus*. The Admiral and all the Officers were received with the greatest Civility by the King, who, upon their Arrival, order'd them a Weekly Allowance of 100 Oxen, 400 Sheep, 400 Geese, 400 Turkeys, 1000 Hens, 1000 Baskets of Greens, 50 Aroves of Sweet-meats, 100,000 Lemons and Oranges, and 80 Pipes of Wine. How contrary this is to the Catholick Court's Treatment of our Fleet, that convey'd the Spaniards into *Italy* in the Year 1731! The Officers of which, were so far from receiving the least Civility or Acknowledgment, that they were not allow'd the least Refreshments but what they paid exorbitant Prices for;

so that it is believed, that that Expedition left 5 or 6000 Pounds of the National Cash in the *Spanish* Ports for fresh Provisions and Wines.

Sometime before the Fleet set Sail, Mr. Keene the *British* Envoy at the Court of *Spain*, communicated to Don *Joseph Patinho*, his Majesty's Resolution to send a Fleet to the Coast of *Portugal*; upon which, the *Spanish* Minister deliver'd Mr. Keen the following Memorial a few Days after, by his Catholick Majesty's Order.

S I R,

I Have given the King the Account you were pleas'd to communicate to me, of the Resolution his *Britannick* Majesty had taken, of sending a powerful Squadron to *Lisbon*, to guard that Coast from Insults, to secure the *Brazil* Fleet, in which his Subjects have, as 'tis said, so much Interest, and to protect their Commerce; declaring at the same Time, his upright Intentions, and that the Fleet was sent with no other Views, and not in the least to enable or encourage the King of *Portugal* to begin Hostilities; and engaging his Royal Word, that, far from fomenting Jealousies, his Desire was, that his Sincerity should be assured in the most expressive Terms.

On the unquestionable Faith of such Royal Assurance, the King knows that there is no farther Room for Suspicion, and agrees, that it is a Demonstration more than sufficient to quiet any Apprehension, which the Crisis in which this Resolution was taken, might have occasion'd; but as the obliging Answer you lately receiv'd from their Majesties themselves, on the Offers you made to them in his *Britannick* Majesty's Name, makes it clear beyond all Doubt, that whatever Resolution had been taken against the King of *Portugal*, it was now suspended; and as this is sufficiently evident to you, without recalling to Mind the singular Confidence his Majesty has placed in the Judgment of the King of *Great Britain*, in the greatest Part of his most important Affairs, he has found it absolutely necessary to communicate to you the infinite ill Consequences resulting from the aforesaid Resolution.

A Flota is fitting out at *Cadiz* for *New Spain*, to be loaded with the Merchandize of all the Nations in *Europe*, solely on the Security of the Alliance and Friendship that subsists between *Spain* and *England*, and void of any Apprehensions of a Risk or Loss of their Fortunes.

As soon as the Merchants hear, I do not say the Report of the Arrival of the *English* Fleet on the Coast of *Portugal*, but of the Resolution taken to send it, they will all be alarmed, and every one will endeavour to withdraw his Effects, though they are at the same Time so entangled by Means of the Loans of Money employ'd in their Purchase, that they cannot be return'd; what lamentable Bankruptcy therefore of the principal Merchants, not only of *Spain*, but also of *France*, *Holland*, *Italy*, &c. must inevitably follow, unless they chuse, as a lesser Evil, to delay sending it this Year, and losing thereby those great Gains that support the Traffick of all *Europe*; nor will the King's assuring the Merchants that his *Britannick* Majesty's Word is inviolable, nay, if he should even join his own to it, be sufficient; because, the greater and the more ostentatious the Expressions may be, the greater will be the Apprehensions their blind Fear will suggest to them; nor will any Persuasion be able to deliver them from the Opinion, that the *English* Fleet is design'd either to hinder their Sailing, or to seize them in their Voyage; nor will it suffice to offer them a Convoy of an equal, or even of a greater Number of Ships of War, because they will think no Security so good, as putting themselves out of the Power of Hazard. I say nothing of the Grief of his Majesty's Subjects, to see the *English* Ships coming into every Port of his Majesty's Dominions with the Liberty his Friendship gives them, and under the Protection of so powerful a Fleet so near them, whilst no *Spanish* Vessel will venture to Sea, for fear of losing its Voyage and Cargo.

What is yet more, these Apprehensions will reach the remotest Part of the *Spanish West-Indies*; nor is it possible to foresee the Resolutions of the People there, when they know that the Voyage of the Flota is either suspended or in Hazard; it is well known to you, Sir, how much Time is necessary to quiet and chastise the Transgressors and Mis-interpreters of Orders, and what Loss the Delay will occasion; but what above all is most to be feared, is the Disorders or Accidents that such a new Step may produce, if it should happen that any other Cause should be artfully assigned for it, besides the one declar'd.

It was the King's Pleasure this should be communicated to you, that laying it before his *Britannick* Majesty, it may be evident with how much Sincerity his Majesty corresponds with what is insinuated and declared by the

King of Great Britain, whose Royal Wisdom shall weigh whether the Advantage he proposes from the Expedition and Continuance of his Fleet on the Coast of Portugal, over-balances the Damage that will follow it, considering chiefly, that after the Acceptance of the Mediation of France, no Hostilities on the Coast or Confines of Portugal, are by any Means to be apprehended.

I am, &c.

Aranjeuz, June 8,
1735, N. S.

Don Joseph Patinho.

This Answer from the Catholick Court was soon after further explain'd by the following Piece publish'd at Madrid, entitled, *Considerations on the Expedition of the British Fleet.*

WHEN his Britannick Majesty resolved to send a numerous Squadron of his Ships of War to the Coast of Portugal, he wisely foresaw that such a Step would give Umbrage to those Powers, with whom he had 'till then liv'd in Concord and Friendship, especially to Spain, who was 'till that Time in the most ticklish Circumstances imaginable with the Crown of Portugal. The King of Great Britain took Care to prevent any Umbrage at such an Armament, and to give Assurances by Mr. Keen, his Minister at Madrid, that the Fleet when equipping in England, was with no other View than to preserve the Freedom of the Coasts of Portugal, and to hinder Spain and her Allies from attacking the Brasil Ships, on Board of which the English Nation had a very large Interest. That Monarch explain'd himself on that Head in the most expressive Manner, and pledg'd his Royal Word in such Terms, as left no Pretext to doubt of the Sincerity of his Declaration.

On the other Hand, the British Court had all the Reason in the World to be satisfy'd with the Manner in which his Catholick Majesty listen'd to the Offers which Mr. Keene had Orders to make him of the good Offices of the King of Great Britain, to stifle a Quarrel in the Birth, which seemed to threaten Europe with a general War, at a Time when she was look'd upon to be at the Eve of a universal Peace. It cannot be doubted but Mr. Keene punctually inform'd his Court of the favourable Dispositions in which he found that of Madrid; and it would be passing a very wrong Judgment on the
King

King of Great Britain, to suspect him dissatisfy'd at the Deference and Regard shewn by his Catholick Majesty, upon that Occasion, to a King of France, his Ally, his Nephew, and a Prince whose Moderation and Justice is known to all the World, his Most Christian Majesty's Mediation having been offer'd and accepted before any other Offer of that Nature had been made.

There was all imaginable Reason to believe that such a Mediation already accepted, would have sufficiently secured Portugal from all Acts of Hostility from the Arms of Spain. The Manner in which his Catholick Majesty has always explain'd himself on this Subject to the British Minister, left no Room for the least Suspicion of Equivocation on his Side. The King of Great Britain has now in his Hands clear and often-repeated Proofs of the Deference which his Catholick Majesty has paid to his Sentiments on the Subject of Pacification.

There is even something still stronger; Mr. Keene, no Doubt, remembers, that having an Audience of the Catholick King, and offering the good Offices of the King his Master, his Catholick Majesty, by his own Mouth, assur'd him, *That, in Regard to the Mediation of the King of France, which he had already accepted, no Hostility should be acted on his Side, either by Sea or Land.* Though that Minister should have forgot this Circumstance, the Letters still subsist, by which he communicated that Promise to his Court, and which must have been received before the Departure of the Fleet for Portugal, and the King of Great Britain's setting out for Hanover.

This incontestable Fact being admitted, it is easy to conclude from it, that Portugal, in the then Situation of Things, had nothing to fear; that the Brazil Fleet, as well as the rest of the Kingdom, was under Covert from all Insult, through the King of Spain's Regard for the Mediation of France, and the good Offices of the Maritime Powers.

All this leads, of itself, to a very natural Reflection. It was not then either necessary, or even useful, that Great Britain should, at a great Expence, make so considerable an Armament for the Defence of an Ally who was in no Manner of Danger, and for whom the good Offices of mutual Friends had already procur'd a sufficient Security. Would to God, that that Armament were no more than useless! *But nothing could have been put in Execution more prejudicial to the Trade of all Europe,*

rope, by the melancholy Consequences it will have, even contrary to the Intention of those who wish'd for and procur'd it. This Object deserves to be a little opened to View.

During the Time that this Design was form'd, all Hands were employ'd at *Cadiz*. in fitting up the *Flota* for *New Spain*. Every one knows that the Cargo she carries thither are a Deposit, to which all the Nations of *Europe* eagerly strive to contribute, and to have a Share in, that they may partake of the great Profits produced by the Returns of the Capitals employ'd in it. One of the greatest Motives to that Confidence which People have to put their Fortunes in that Sort of Commerce, is the good Understanding which they see between the Courts of *Spain* and *Great Britain*: Persuaded that they have nothing to fear for their Effects but the Winds and Tempests, and the other Accidents of the Sea, they have the less Uneasiness and Reserve in giving into a Trade whose great Advantages they are so well acquainted with. The Advantages they draw from it, have a proportionable Influence over all the other Branches of Trade in general, and Things remaining in this Condition, cause a happy Circulation of Wealth in *Spain*, and among all those Nations where Commerce flourishes; but it is with the Body Politick, as it is with the Humane Body, as soon as the Circulation is stopp'd in any considerable Part, it immediately languishes and becomes all over distemper'd.

The *Flota* from *Cadiz*. was equipping as usual, every Body was preparing rich Merchandize to put on board it, which they had purchased either by Bills of Exchange, for Ready Money, or upon Credit: All on a sudden they hear of a naval Armament making in *England*, to go and cover the Sea all along the Coast of *Portugal*; at this News the Merchants tremble, Confidence vanishes, every one thinks of securing his Effects, and no Man will risque his Capital on board the Gallions, which may be attack'd either going to *New Spain*, or coming back; People had rather keep their Goods in their Ware-houses, and run the Risque of their perishing there; they had rather renounce the Hopes of a Return that would enrich them, than hazard an Event that would ruin them without Resource: This Fear is communicative, and and, by a contagious Emotion, a Branch of Trade, which is the Soul of all the Trade of *Europe*, loses its own proper Vigour; and, in Proportion, as it languishes itself,

it draws all the subordinate Branches into the same Condition. Let us add, that those who furnish Goods to be sent to *New Spain*, have borrow'd large Sums, and employ'd them according to the best of their Judgment; the Goods are already bought, but they don't go; they can't then make the Reimbursements to which they stand engaged; Circumstances in which the Merchants have no Part, reduce them to glaring Bankruptcies; by their Fall they occasion that of several other Merchants, not only of *Spain*, but also of *France*, *England*, *Holland*, *Italy*, &c. who are unfortunately struck by the Rebound.

These Calamities are, doubtless, a great Object, an Object worthy of Attention; but still they are not the only Disorders that may arise from that Armament: It is to be hoped, that the good Understanding between the Crowns of *Spain* and *Great Britain*, will not cease upon this Affair: His Catholick Majesty, persuaded of the Sincerity of a Monarch who has order'd his Intentions to be explained to him, acknowledges the Purity of them, and will never take Umbrage at a Fleet solely designed to take away the Obstacles or prevent the Incidents which might render the Peace more difficult, and add Fewel to the Fire of that War, which blazes but too fiercely already. This is allow'd; but this Persuasion in which the King of *Spain* is, will it re-assure the Minds of those interested in the *Flota*? Will it calm their Alarms? It will be in vain for him to tell them, that he has the Royal Word of his *Britannick* Majesty for their Security, to join his own to it, or even to offer to send a sufficient Convoy with their Ships; nothing will bring back the affrighted Merchants; they will not expose their Substance to the Risque of being attack'd, nor to the doubtful Success of a Sea-Fight.

But what Effect will that Naval Army produce in the Maritime Provinces of *Spain*? With what Eye will the *Spaniards* behold entering into those Ports, which the present State of Peace keeps open to the *British* Nation, a Fleet, Friends as you please to call them, but arm'd nevertheless with all the Accoutrements and Appearance of an Enemy? The *Spaniards* will see the *English* Ships freely enter their Ports, while their own Merchantmen will hardly dare venture out upon the smallest Trip, for fear of some unforeseen Insult. In what Condition will then the Maritime Commerce of *Spain* be, and that of other Nations who trade with her?

What Balverfement will not the Expedition of the Fleet cause in the Affairs of particular Merchants all over *Europe*? How will it be possible to perfuade them that it is only to favour the Negotiations already commenced for putting *Portugal* in a State of Tranquillity? Will they not rather believe that it is the Prelude to an open Rupture between *Spain* and *Great Britain*? Being fo prepossess'd, they will make hafte to withdraw their Effects out of *Spain*, and their Precipitation in doing fo will cause an extreme Confufion, and an almost univerfal Diforder; and the Diforder will be the greater, as the *Spanish* Trade extends to all the Nations of *Europe*.

Let us go further; their Catholick and *Britannick* Majesties know by Experience, how difficult a Thing it is to keep their *American* Subjects within the exact Observation of those Treaties which limit the Nature and the Places of their Trade: When the Inhabitants of *New Spain* fhall come to know, that the Galleons which they expect have been retarded, or their Voyage put off to the next Year, what Thoughts will they not harbour on the general State of the Affairs of *Europe*? If they hear, that in fpite of the Fears of the Merchants, which it is impossible to conceal from them, we ftill hazard the Voyage, what Uneafinefs will they not be under, as well for the Arrival of the Galleons, as for their Return? Who can forefee the false Meafures they are capable of taking, in a State fo uncertain, fo violent as that? Those Diforders are, nevertheless, as much the more deplorable, as that the Remedies which may be apply'd to them come too late, through the Difance of Places.

The Intentions of the King of *Great Britain*, tend only to reftore the Calm and Tranquillity of *Europe*. He has folemnly protefted it. We ought to believe him on his Royal Word. Nevertheless, all Things examin'd, it is found, in winding up the Bottom, that the Meafures taken for putting an End to, or at leaft for leffening the Troubles of *Europe*, are only proper to increafe them. To fecure the Trade of *Portugal*, which was not threaten'd with any immediate Danger, that of feveral Nations is facrificed to it, and a particular Danger, Danger very remote, is now turn'd into a prefent and general Evil.

But it will be faid, that the Design of the Fleet was to fupport a Peace which they would maintain between two Crowns animated againft one another. To which it is eafy to answer, that if the Court of *Great Britain* acted

acted upon that Motive, nothing was less necessary than all that Parade of a Fleet, which is a pure Loss to their Nation. It is even easy to demonstrate, that that Fleet does more Harm than Good to the Pacifick Negotiations. A *Portuguese* Gentleman, whose Character is not very clear, a Minister, however, if it must be so, orders in a Fit of Gaiety, a Crime of High-Treason to be committed in the Capital of *Spain*, and under the very Walls of a Royal House. The Criminals are seiz'd, whom he said he had put out of his Protection. The King of *Portugal*, by a first Movement of Equity, immediately disavows the Action of his Minister; and at the Instigation of somebody, very ill instructed in the true Glory of Sovereigns, this Prince changes his Mind all on a sudden, consents to tarnish the Character of an Ambassador in the Person of him from *Spain*, under the specious Pretext of making Reprisals, as if there had been any Proportion between the Rank and Condition of those two Ministers. After thus taking off the Mask, the Court of *Lisbon* endeavoured to irritate all *Europe* against *Spain*, and to persuade every one of the Fright with which she pretended to be possess'd. In these Circumstances she had consented to a pacifick Negotiation. The *British* Minister at *Madrid* knows as well as any Man living, that his Catholick Majesty had no Inclination to make an ungenerous Use of the Superiority of his Forces: Had he had ever so little Mind to do so, what could have hinder'd him from falling like a Torrent on *Portugal*, with his Ships of War that were at *Cadiz*, and the Troops in his frontier Provinces, which the King of *Portugal* had no Forces to oppose? Nothing then could have hinder'd the *Spaniards* from pushing on to *Lisbon*; nothing but the Circumspection of his Catholick Majesty sav'd *Portugal* from an Irruption, from which she was in no Manner of Condition to defend herself.

To re-establish the Harmony between the two Nations, *Portugal* had no Need of any other Expedient than that of resuming the Sentiments of Moderation and Justice: That would have satisfy'd such a King as *Philip V.* But the *British* Fleet has very much changed the Face of Affairs; the King of *Portugal* finding so considerable a Support, enlarges his Pretensions. If he demands those Reparations to be made him, which he himself owes to the Majesty of a great King, who has been offended in the Sight of two Capital Cities, where shall we be? What must we expect? — That the Peace will be far

ther off than before, and that of a Dislemper which of itself seemed to point out its own Cure ; the Fleet has made an incurable Disease, whose Consequences will be more to be dreaded than the Evil itself.

To Mr. *Patinho's* Letter, Mr. *Keene* returned the following Answer in convenient Time, which may likewise serve as a full Reply to the *Considerations*, &c.

S I R,

I Immediately dispatch'd away one of my Servants to the King my Master, with the Letter which your Excellency did me the Honour to write to me the 8th of *June* last, by Order of his Catholick Majesty, touching the Advice I gave you of the Resolution which the King had taken to send a Squadron to the Coasts of *Portugal*, and the Motives which engaged him to do so.

I have since receiv'd Orders from the King to answer your Excellency's Letter, that you may acquaint the King of *Spain*, that, after the strongest Assurances which I had the Honour to give you by Word of Mouth, the *British* Squadron has been sent to *Lisbon*, under the Command of Admiral *Norris*, with no other Design than to protect the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects, and defend the Coast and Trade of *Portugal*, against all Surprizes and Attempts that might be made to their Prejudice, with exprefs Orders to the said Admiral, neither to assist nor encourage the King of *Portugal* to attack any Powers whatever, nor to undertake any Thing against them ; the same Assurances having been likewise given to the Count *de Montijo*, his Majesty is persuaded, that when the King of *Spain* shall have been pleased maturely to examine these Circumstances, his Catholick Majesty will not be under any Uneasiness, or take the least Umbrage concerning the Design of that Fleet.

Nevertheless, Sir, as you alledge in the said Letter,
 ' That the *Flota* is equipping for *New Spain*, and that
 ' when the Merchants come to hear of the Arrival of an
 ' *English* Squadron on the Coast of *Portugal*, they will all
 ' be in a Ferment, and every one endeavour to withdraw
 ' his Effects, from whence Bankruptcies must infallibly
 ' follow ; so that they will rather chuse, as the least
 ' Inconvenience, to suspend the sending of their Goods
 ' and Merchandize this Year, and to lose those considerable Returns which nourish the Trade of all *Europe*.
 To prevent all Suspensions of this Nature, and that his
 Catholick

Catholick Majesty, and also all other Powers prepossess'd with the like Apprehensions, may be fully inform'd of the real View and Design of sending the *English* Fleet to the Coast of *Portugal*, which had already sailed before the Receipt of your Letter; his Majesty has commanded me to reiterate and confirm by Writing the Assurances already given, and to declare in his Name, that the Protection of the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects, and of those of his Allies, is the sole and only Object and Design of sending that Fleet.

His Majesty has seen with Pleasure that there is no Manner of Hostility to apprehend from his Catholick Majesty, either on the Coasts or Frontiers of *Portugal*, by which his Majesty will find himself in a better Condition to give Weight to those Instances already made by his Orders, for engaging his *Portuguese* Majesty to the same Dispositions on his Side; and according to the Advices I have receiv'd, there is all imaginable Room to hope that those Instances will have the desired Effect; the Offer immediately made of the King's Mediation, to terminate the Difference between the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, has been a convincing Proof of his Majesty's Efforts, to do all that in him lies to bring about an amicable Accommodation: And his Catholick Majesty may be assured, that provided the King's Subjects are not molested in their Trade in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and in *Europe*, and that nothing is undertaken against the Coasts and Trade of *Portugal*; his Majesty's Fleet, as long as it stays in these Seas, will never give his Catholick Majesty, or his Subjects, the least Cause of Suspicion, or Uneasiness.

The King my Master could not have imagined that the Measures which have been this Moment alledged, and which ought to appear so just to all the World, could ever have serv'd as a Pretence for troubling the Trade of his Subjects in any Manner whatever, not even in the most distant and remotest Places, or caused the least Prejudice to the Interest of his People, especially considering the Condition his Majesty is and always will be in, to defend the Commerce of his Subjects, as well as the just Rights and Privileges of the *British* Nation.

G E R M A N Y.

IN Number 74 of our Register, we inserted Part of his Imperial Majesty's Answer to *A Memorial for the Catholick King's Embassador to the Court of Great Britain, containing the Reasons which induced his Catholick Majesty to declare War against the Emperor*; the remaining Part of which Answer was as follows;

THE Imperial Court had been by Experience convinced of the little Dependence they could have upon the Promises of the *Spanish Court*: They look'd upon an Union between them and the two maritime Powers, as necessary for the Interest, and for the Preservation of the Liberties of *Europe* in general, which had always been what his Imperial Majesty, and his august House, principally aimed at and desired. And though they foresaw all the Consequences of so important an Alteration made in the *Quadruple Alliance*, they put such Confidence in the Sincerity of the Maritime Powers, that they chose rather to secure an Alliance with them, by yielding to that Alteration, than to lose the same by pursuing a contrary Measure: Nay, they did more, they put *England* in a Way of fulfilling all the Engagements she had enter'd into by the Treaty of *Seville*, without striking a Stroke: However, they did not do this but by stipulating reciprocally a Guaranty in the strongest Terms, for the Security of all the Emperor's hereditary Countries: A Guaranty which the Imperial Court now demands a faithful Performance of, with a full Assurance, that after having, upon their Part, made so many Sacrifices to the publick Tranquillity, out of a Desire to see the System of *Europe* upon a solid and lasting Foot, they cannot be disappointed of that Benefit which they from thence expect. One needs but read the Declaration deliver'd by the *British Minister*, and adopted by the States-General in their Act of Accession, in Relation to the *Spanish Garrisons*, to be fully convinced, that the Assurance just mention'd, was the only Motive which determined the Emperor in the Choice he was then to make.

The Court of *Spain* seeing their Hopes frustrated, chose to dissemble, and pretended to what was on that Occasion, stipulated and promised, by his *Britannick Majesty*. The Emperor had then a considerable Army in
Italy

Italy; his Troops were in Possession of *Parma* and *Placentia*, and it would not have been easy to have dislodged them from thence. The Treaty was therefore concluded the 22d of *July*, 1731; but it was not long before it was easy to be perceiv'd, that the Number of Treaties would have but little Effect upon the Court of *Spain*, or that by multiplying of Treaties any greater Dependence could be had on their Sincerity in Time to come, than had been experienced in Time past. Three Days after the signing of the Treaty of *Vienna*, Father *Ascanio* sign'd another at *Florence*, no Way consistent with the former: The Inconsistence between the one and the other, was made appear, by Remarks which were communicated, as well to the Duke of *Liria*, as to Mr. *Robinson*: The Truth of which was too evident not to be acknowledged; therefore the Duke of *Liria*, in Conjunction with the *English* Minister, sign'd a Declaration, drawn up on Purpose to rectify this Convention made at *Florence*; and his Catholick Majesty qualify'd the Ratification of that very Convention, at the same Time that he ratify'd, purely and simply, the Treaty which had been concluded at *Vienna*; by all which, the Hopes of a more durable Tranquillity were revived, and therefore the Imperial Court thought of nothing but executing, on their Part, with the utmost Sincerity, what had been stipulated by Treaties: They communicated to the Duke of *Liria* the Lights he wanted, with respect to the Feudality which had been established by those Treaties; the Act of Emancipation was drawn up at *Vienna*, and was approved and signed by his Catholick Majesty; the Emperor afterwards named the Guardians, and even in this he had a Regard for the Recommendation of the King of *Spain*: The Duke of *Tuscany* having acceded to the Treaty of the 22d of *July*, 1731, he was named jointly with the Dutchess *Dorothy*, Mother of the Queen of *Spain*; the Act of Guardianship was dispatched, the Oath administered, and by Letters of Reversal, exhibited in the Name of the Guardians, they bound themselves to an exact Observation of the Treaties and Investitures: The Court of *Spain*, at that Time, took Care not to insist, as they do at present, that the Treaties and Investitures required no such Ceremonies: They confessed the contrary, and were far from pretending to decide, with respect to that which is prescribed by the Forms of the Feudal Court, by ancient Usage, and by the Constitutions of the Empire; therefore at *Vienna* they proceeded to the drawing

ing up of the Edict which was to be published, for putting the Infante in Possession of those Estates which had devolved upon him ; but while they were busy in drawing it up, the Emperor heard, with great Surprise, that the Number of *Spanish* Troops then just landed, exceeded that which had been stipulated by the Treaties : Upon which, Remonstrances were made, as well to the Duke of *Liria*, as to Mr. *Robinson* ; and upon Assurances given by these Ministers, that the supernumerary Troop should be sent back to *Spain*, the Imperial Court sent Orders to the Count *de Stampa*, to evacuate the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* : To these Orders there was no Condition annexed, except that which was clearly expressed in the Treaties, to wit, that the Number of *Spanish* Troops should not exceed 6000 Men, and that the Infante should acknowledge no other Superior Lord but the Emperor. These were expressly the Orders sent to the Count *de Stampa*, which were no Way concealed either from the Duke of *Liria*, or from Mr. *Robinson* ; so that all that is said in the *Spanish* Manifesto upon this Head, is absolutely false ; nor can the Court of *Vienna* have so mean an Opinion of the Duke of *Liria*, as to believe, that he will attempt to support what has been advanced by the Court of *Spain* : The Act which was proposed to be sign'd by him, is an evident Proof, that the Imperial Court did not pretend to insist upon all that the Marquess *de Monteleon* had subscribed to ; nor did they, under that Pretext, pretend to defer the Evacuation of *Parma* and *Placentia* : 'Tis true that since, according to the Treaties, 6000 *Spanish* Troops were supposed to be sufficient for securing to the Infante Don *Carlos* both the Successions, which were by those Treaties provided for him, that Number was deemed to be too great for securing one of those Successions only, after the Infante found himself in the peaceable Possession of the other : And in this Sense it was, that the *British* and *Spanish* Ministers at *Vienna* were spoke to upon this Subject ; in this Sense it was, that the Count *de Stampa* was order'd to speak about it to the Marquess *de Monteleon* : But however just this Way of Reasoning might be, the Emperor was not willing that the Execution of the Treaties should, upon this Account, be retarded ; and therefore it was expressly mention'd in the Orders sent to Count *Stampa*, that he should content himself with only representing this to the Marquess *de Monteleon*, but without taking from thence an Occasion to insist upon any Thing

to a previous Condition, or delaying one single Hour the Evacuation of *Parma* and *Placentia*: The Count *de Stampa* had no great Difficulty in making the *Spanish* Minister comprehend the reasonableness of what he represented to him; he comprehended it directly, and offer'd to give a Declaration conform to his Sentiments, which, in Effect, he accordingly gave; so that the only Crime that can, on this Account, be imputed to Count *Stampa*, or to the Court of *Vienna*, is, that the former, without the Knowledge of his Master, did not refuse to accept of that which the *Marquess de Monteleon*, without any Difficulty offered to him. A most excellent Motive for breaking a Peace so often renew'd! for exclaiming that an Insult had been offer'd, for complaining, *That the Honour of the Infante had been violated, and that of his Catholick Majesty grievously offended*; or for complaining of *underhand Dealings, carefully and fraudulently concealed*! Were there ever any Complaints of a more extraordinary Nature? The Duke of *Liria* did not imagine that his Court would condemn the Conduct of the *Marquess de Monteleon*; on the contrary, both he and the Imperial Court believed, that after what had passed at *Parma*, there was no further Occasion for his signing that Act, which had been desired of him some Time before; and it was not 'till the Month of *February* 1732, that Complaints began to be made against the Declaration, which the *Marquess de Monteleon* had given; but those Complaints were not then such as are now publish'd; there was not the least Ground for inferring from them, that Spain would one Day affirm, *that she had given the Emperor to know, the Sentiments which such an unheard-of Treatment must produce in her, or that she had made all Europe acquainted with her just Grounds of Complaint.* The Conferences and the Memorials of the Duke of *Liria*, were more soft and pleasing; they breathed nothing but the extreme Desire which his Catholick Majesty had to bind closer and faster a more strict Union between the two Courts, and to render it for ever indissoluble. But with that Surprise must the Imperial Court see, that after such Professions as these, it should be said in the *Spanish Manifesto*, *That notwithstanding the most pressing Instances, they could never obtain any Answer, and that all the Satisfaction they could obtain from so signal a Contempt, was a signed desisting on the Part of the Court of Vienna.* On this Subject the Duke of *Liria* wrote a Letter to Prince *of Savoy* the 6th of *May* 1732, and an Answer to this

this Letter was sent to him, before the Emperor's Departure for *Prague*, which Answer contained all that the Court of *Spain* could reasonably desire; and since that Time there has not the least Application been made, for diminishing the Number of the 6000 *Spanish* Troops, which is a certain Sign, that there was not the least Dissimulation in the Complaisance shewn by the Imperial Court.

During the very Time that these Transactions were carrying on, with Relation to the Declaration made by the Marquess de Monteleon, the Duke of *Liria* was soliciting a Dispensation of Age for the Infante Don *Carlos*, and he gave to understand, that his Catholick Majesty was very much inclined to enter into a new Treaty with the Emperor: His Imperial Majesty resolved to grant this Dispensation, provided the actual Investiture was previously taken by the Guardians, and upon reiterated Applications from the Duke of *Liria*, a Sketch of the Treaty which the Imperial Court were willing to conclude, was communicated to him; a Sketch which was entirely taken from that of the 30th of *April* 1725, excepting that no Mention was made in it of guarantying the Order of Succession establish'd in the august House of *Austria*. Till this Time the Emperor met with nothing but Assurances upon Assurances, of the real and sincere Friendship of their Catholick Majesties, and of the great Desire they had to see the most perfect Harmony establish'd between the two Courts; but since then Things have taken a quite different Turn: The Sketch of the Treaty proposed, gave such a Disgust to the *Spanish* Court, that they have never deigned to give it an Answer; and it is at the Time this Sketch was communicated, that we ought to fix the Æra of those Complaints and Reproaches, which succeeded so closely after the most friendly and the most pacifick Assurances, as to the Cause of which we shall leave to the Reader to guess.

In a little Time after, the Imperial Court were apprised of what happen'd at *Florence*, on the Feast of *St. John the Baptist*, 1732, on Occasion of the Homage which is, by Custom, renewed at that Place yearly; which Step comprehended all the Irregularities contained in the Convention of *Florence*, and was founded upon the same erroneous Principles and Suppositions. The Emperor immediately addressed himself to his *Britannick* Majesty to the End, that by the Interposition of his good Offices the Irregularities of that Proceeding might be rectify'd

the Matter in Hand was fully explain'd in an accurate Memorial, which was sent to the Lord *Harrington* by Count *Philip Kinski* ; and Mr. *Keen* was ordered to make proper Remonstrances thereupon to his Catholick Majesty's Ministers : He did so ; but he received nothing but a very unsatisfactory Answer from the Marquess *de las Paz*. The Emperor could not dispense with asking the Opinion of the Imperial Aulick Council, in an Affair which was entirely within their Province : That Council gave their Opinion, and in Consequence of that Opinion, four Rescripts were prepared, upon the same Model with those above mention'd, which had been prepared in 1728, at the Request of the Duke *de Bournonville*. The Emperor was so good as to order them to be communicated both to the Duke of *Liria* and Mr. *Robinson*, to the first of whom was therewith sent a Letter, containing the necessary Explanations upon that Subject. At the same Time, that by two of those Rescripts the past Irregularities were redressed, there was Care taken to obviate the Objections and Complaints of the Court of *Spain*, by pointing out in the other two, and preparing before-hand, the only legal Way by which Don *Carlos*, as a new Vassal, could be put in Possession of those Estates, which might afterwards fall to his Share, *non ex Pacto & Providentia majorum* ; but by Virtue of a new Grant, founded upon the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance. His Imperial Majesty's only End in all this was made appear to be, that after having secured his own Rights of Supremacy, and those of the Empire ; as to every Thing else, he was ready and disposed to make Things as easy as was consistent with these Rights. In a Word, the two injurious Rescripts spoke of in the *Spanish* Manifesto, were conceived in Terms more guarded than those for which the Duke *de Bournonville* solicited in 1728, and for the expediting of which, he had testified to the Emperor, the Thanks of their Catholick Majesties, as every Man may be convinced of, by comparing them together ; but in *Spain* the same Things appear in different Lights one Day from what they do another ; for now they complain of that as an Injury, which formerly they earnestly solicited for ; being in that Country as apt to change their Opinion, as they are to depart from the Treaties they have made ; and the more Moderation and Lenity the Emperor made Use of, the more Liberty the *Spanish* Ministers took to express themselves in Terms not at all agreeable. His Britannick

Majesty caused to be communicated to the Imperial Court, not only the Remonstrances made by Mr. Keene, but the Answer made by the Marquess *de las Paz*, upon which they delivered to Mr. *Robinson* the Memorial of the 5th of *December* of the same Year.

Notwithstanding the little Success of these Remonstrances, made by Mr. Keene, yet his *Britannick* Majesty did not cease to employ his good Offices and his Endeavours, to remove these Difficulties; and by a Memorial presented by Mr. *Robinson* the 18th of *January* 1733, he insinuated a new Method for an Accommodation; upon which, the Emperor conformed himself entirely to his *Britannick* Majesty's Desires, whereof Mr. *Robinson* was made acquainted, by the Answer of the 31st of *January*, to which was annexed a Draught of the Demand, which ought to be made in the Name of the Infante, for the Title of Great Prince of *Tuscany*: A Draught which, compared with the Rescript the Agent of the Infante's Guardians had endeavoured to render acceptable to the Imperial Aulick Council, appeared to be such as ought to have been infinitely more agreeable to their Catholick Majesties, except that there were no Declamations in it against those who were supposed to be endeavouring to make a Breach between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Seville*. The King of *Great Britain* seem'd highly pleased with the Emperor's extraordinary Condescension: He testify'd the same by the Insinuations made to the Count *Montijo*, in the Month of *March* following; but while People were endeavouring to find out Methods for putting an End to the Differences that had arisen, in Relation to the taking of the Investiture, and as to the Title of Great Prince of *Tuscany*, and as to what had passed in the Year 1732, on Occasion of the annual Renewal of Homage at *Florence*, the Court of *Spain* took Care to raise new Difficulties: They complained, That the Feudatories of *Parma* were forbid to pay Homage to the Infante's Guardians; that the Surrender of the Fiefs of the Kingdom of *Naples* were retarded; that the Sovereignty of the Island of *Ponza* was usurped, and that Incroachments were made upon the Limits and Jurisdictions of the Infante *Don Carlos*. From thence the Count *de Montijo* took Occasion to present a second Memorial to the *English* Ministers, the 6th of *January* 1733, to which an Answer was made the 16th of the same Month, and his *Britannick* Majesty signified to the Imperial Court, that he would be glad to have, as soon as possible,

possible, the necessary Informations, as to all the Difficulties then started. Nothing was more easy than to give to his *Britannick* Majesty the Informations he desired; for certainly no Man could find Fault with the Feudatories of *Parma*, the Emperor's Subjects, for delaying to swear the Oath of Vassalage, 'till the Infante's Tutors had, in his Name, paid that Homage which was due from him to the Emperor: Beside, they had at *Parma* alter'd the Form of the Oath in such a Manner, that it looked rather like an Oath of Homage than a simple Oath of Vassalage, which Homage was due to the Infante only from his own Subjects, and not from the Emperor's Subjects, who, with Regard to the Fiefs which they held of the Dukes of *Parma*, were no more but simple Feudatories; and this is the only Reason which prevented their discharging themselves of their Duty only for a few Days; because at *Parma* they soon after agreed to content themselves with what had been formerly used; and the said Feudatories took the Oath required of them, even before these Complaints of the Count of *Montijo's* were known at *Vienna*, which was the Answer made upon this Head to Mr. *Robinson*, with an Offer, that if they could point out any one who had not then taken the Oath, the Emperor would oblige him to do so, providing they required nothing but what had been Customary: Could there any Thing more be desir'd upon this Head? This Offer was often reiterated, both by Word and by Writing; and during the whole Time which has been, to no Purpose, taken up about a friendly Accommodation, they have not been able to shew one Feudatory who had not taken the Oath of Vassalage; for the Truth of which, the Court of *Vienna* refer themselves to the Testimony of all those who have had any Share in the Negotiation: But in this likewise the real Views of the Court of *Spain* are but too plain to be discover'd; for the Manifesto, publish'd by them, talks of a Homage due to the Infante as Sovereign, which cannot be proper for simple Feudatories, who are none of his Subjects.

As for the Estates in *Naples*, formerly possessed by the House of *Farnese*, the Emperor had but too good Reason to sequester them: These Estates were no Way comprehended under the Treaties and Investitures: The Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* were, by those Treaties, declared Masculine Fiefs of the Empire; but that Estates which the Dukes of *Parma* possess'd, not in Quality of Dukes

Parma, but only as private Men ; that Estates situated in a Kingdom altogether independent, should, in Prejudice even of that Independence, change their Nature, and should be held of the Emperor and Empire, instead of never having been held of any but the Kings of *Naples*, the contracting Parties, in the Quadruple Alliance, had certainly never any such Thought : Neither the Words nor the Spirit of the Treaties and Investitures, can give any Foundation for such an extraordinary Pretension, and yet this was the only Foundation for the Dispute : The Infante *Don Carlos* had a Mind to take Possession of those Estates, in the same Quality, and by the same Title, by which he possessed the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, and by one of the most palpable Contradictions, which shewed a Consciousness of being in the Wrong, he apply'd to the Tribunals of *Naples*, with Respect to those Estates which he pretended to hold only of the Emperor and Empire : And to confound still more the Court of *Spain* upon this Head, the Emperor gave them to understand, that he did not seek to appropriate these Estates to himself, or to take them from the Infante *Don Carlos* ; but that as they had devolved upon the Queen, the Infante's Mother, he had no more to do but to produce her Surrender of them, in Order that the Emperor might acknowledge, that they of Right belonged to him, on Condition, nevertheless, that the Infante should take Possession of them in the same Quality, and by the same Title, by which they had been possessed by his Ancestors, Dukes of *Parma*, descended from the House of *Farnese*. What further could they desire or wish for upon this Head ? Posterity will be at a Loss to conceive, how so much Condescension could draw upon his Imperial Majesty so many Outrages, and such bloody Invektives ; and what is still more, that it has served as a Pretext for making War against him. The Court of *Spain* dishonour themselves by a Conduct so opposite to those Sentiments which great Princes ought to entertain.

The Insults and Violences which, they say, have been committed upon the Limits and Jurisdictions of the Infante Don Carlos, have been committed by his Order upon the Limits and Jurisdictions of the Emperor, as Duke of Milan ; and the Emperor's Indulgence has appeared no less upon this than upon all other Occasions. During the Time that the Dutchy of Milan was under the Dominion of the Kings of Spain, the Dukes of Parma never dared to encroach, as they have lately done, upon the

the Confines of the *Milaneſe*: They were far from doing ſo, and the Court of *Spain* would have been as far from ſuffering it. They cannot then be ignorant of the inconteſtable Right which the Emperor has, as well to the two Banks of the *Po*, as to the Territory adjoining to it; but the Court of *Spain* have changed their Opinion ſince the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* were ſettled upon the Infante *Don Carlos*, by the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance: They encouraged, under-hand, the deceased Duke of *Parma*, to form Pretenſions, which otherwiſe he durſt never before have laid Claim to; and the Emperor, always guided by Juſtice and Moderation, agreed, by the 11th Article of the Treaty of the 30th of *April*, 1725, that theſe Differences ſhould be determined by Arbiters; but he could not any longer be bound by that Promiſe, after the Declaration of the Marqueſs *de las Paz*, above mention'd, by which his Catholick Maſteſty renounced all Engagements enter'd into with the Emperor: Nevertheless he renew'd that Engagement, by the Answer given to Mr. *Robiſon*; and as the Differences about the Limits could not, from their Nature, be examin'd and diſcuſs'd but upon the Place, he invited the King of *Great Britain* to concur therein, by naming a Miniſter to aſſiſt on his Part, at the Diſcuſſion of the Differences. The Count *de Montijo* did not think fit to agree to a Propoſition ſo full of Juſtice and Moderation, but inſiſted, that the Limits between the *Milaneſe* and the *Parmaſan* ſhould be regulated at *London*; and becauſe the Court of *Vienna* did not think the Thing practicable, they cry out in *Spain*, againſt their Extravagance and their Inſults. Would not any Man be juſtify'd in calling ſuch Complaints unreaſonable and extravagant? As to this the Imperial Court may refer to the Judgment of all thoſe who ſhall give themſelves the Trouble of reading the preſent Answer.

In ſine, the Emperor cauſed to be drawn up a full Information, touching the Iſland of *Ponza*, which was delivered to Mr. *Robiſon* in the Month of *May* laſt Year; and as that Information is annexed to the preſent Writing, we ſhall refer to it, that the Reader may not be tired with uſeleſs Repetitions.

While the Imperial Court was taken up about furniſhing his *Britannick* Maſteſty with the Informations he wanted; the Court of *Spain* rejected the Plan of Accommodation contain'd in Mr. *Robiſon*'s Memorial of the 18th of *January*, and agreed to by his Imperial Maſteſty,

in his Answer of the 31st of the same Month: From this Refusal it was easy to judge of the Intentions of the Court of *Spain*; for, in Proportion, as the Emperor offer'd new Favours, and such Favours as could not be insisted on, by Virtue of any Treaty, the Court of *Spain* made new Demands, and shew'd themselves the more averse to the concluding of an Accommodation, which was so much desired by his *Britannick* Majesty: That Prince was not, however, discouraged; his extreme Desire to prevent these Troubles, with which the Peace of *Europe* was threaten'd, induced him to advise his Imperial Majesty to further Compliances, notwithstanding the little Benefit that had been reaped from those which had before been lavished. The Plan of Accommodation of the 21st of *July* was drawn up in *England*; the 7th of *August* it was communicated to the Emperor's Ministers, and an Answer was given to it upon the 18th of the same Month. Count *Philip Kinski* was provided with full Powers for terminating, in an amicable Manner, all Differences; and it was not doubted but that the Count *de Montijo* would give a Declaration conform to what had been insinuated in the Duke of *Newcastle's* Letter. This Counter-Declaration, which was sent to *London*, is treated as trifling and injurious in the *Spanish* Manifesto; but to shew how little these Epithets belong to it, we shall content ourselves with only communicating it to the Publick; for, whoever can find in it any Thing trifling, injurious, or haughty, must find Moderation, Reserve, Softness, and good Sense, in the Manifesto of the Court of *Spain*; and, in such Case, the impartial World will see, that the Ideas they have hitherto form'd of Things, must for the future be reversed.

Before the Emperor's Sentiments could be known to his *Britannick* Majesty, the News he received from his Minister at the Court of *Spain*, obliged him to send new Instructions to his Minister residing at the Imperial Court, which Mr. *Robinson* discharged himself of by a Memorial he presented the 7th of *September*. The Imperial Court proceeded with too much Candour ever to have imagined, that the Negotiation could stop at several Points expressed in the Memorial just mentioned. They suspected that the Court of *Spain* might incline to find Fault with some Expressions, which, in their Opinion, did not deserve to have been in the least taken Notice of; therefore they made no Difficulty to alter the Plan of the Counter-Declaration in such Manner as the English

Ministry

Ministry seemed to desire ; and, by their Answer of the 18th of the same Month, they gave all the Explanations that were desired.

During these Transactions, the *Sieur d'Esquilluz*, who was entrusted with the Affairs of *Spain*, received a Courier from his Court, who, as he declared, had been dispatched for no other Purpose but to facilitate the Accommodation then negotiating by the Mediation of the King of Great Britain : The Imperial Court communicated to him the Substance of the Answer delivered to *Mr. Robinson*, as also the Plan of the Counter-declaration, according as it had been at last drawn up. He did not pretend to find any Thing trifling, injurious, or haughty in it ; nor did he in any Manner express himself so, as to give a Suspicion that their Catholick Majesties would be so extremely offended at it : In a Word, they did not discover to him any Discontent, at least upon that Head ; and he made Haste to dispatch his Courier back to *Spain*.

In the mean while the Imperial Court was entirely ignorant, that the Method, which they had hitherto observed for putting an End to all Disputes, by the Way of Declaration, and Counter-declaration, was not agreeable to the Taste of the Count of *Montijo*, or that he chose rather the Method of writing two Letters, which might comprehend what at *Vienna* they had supposed ought to be inserted in the Acts of Declaration and Counter-declaration ; and they the less expected that a Negotiation should be interrupted on such an extraordinary Account, because they had never heard any Mention made of it, and because they were not accustomed to give themselves any Trouble about such Sort of Finesses : The Imperial Court was therefore extremely surprised to hear, both by *Mr. Robinson's* Memorial of the 26th of September, and by Accounts from Count *Philip Kinski*, that it was proposed to write Letters to the Duke of *Newcastle* and the Lord *Harrington*, instead of giving to one-another Declarations and Counter-declarations : That the *Latin* Tongue was disagreeable to the Count *de Montijo*, and that it was necessary, neither to add, to take away, or to alter, a Syllable of what was contain'd in the Duke of *Newcastle's* Letter of the 2d of July.

However whimsical these Demands were, the Court of *Vienna* resolved to agree to every one of them ; and as soon as the Emperor was returned from *Habthurn*, and consequently before the Rupture made by *France*, they authorised Count *Philip Kinsky*, fully to comply with the Desires

Desires of Count Montijo, in Pursuance of the Order he had received the preceding Year; but the English Courier, who carry'd these Dispatches, did not arrive in England 'till after France and Sardinia had made an open Rupture; and notwithstanding the Proffer made by the Imperial Embassador, to sign the Letter Word for Word as had been proposed by Count Montijo, yet he refused to write or sign that which he had before offer'd; however, he did not go so far as to declare the Negotiation broke off, but on the contrary, he gave a Colour for his Refusal, as has been before mentioned, by pretending that he must wait for the Instructions he expected from his Court, which did not entirely take off the Mask for some Time after; and even after having discovered themselves to England, their Ministers play'd a Part in Italy, not proper for any but themselves: They always pretended, even after the Arrival of Count Montemar, and the Duke of Liria, that the Spanish Troops were designed only to cover the Territories of the Infante Don Carlos, and were to be Spectators only of the War which was carrying on by others; but these Troops were no sooner landed, than they were employ'd to swallow up the Territories of others; they acted as Enemies, they possessed themselves by Force of the Fiefs of the Empire, and attacked even those which no way belonged to the august House of Austria: Massa, Lavenza, and Aulana, were the first to feel the Effects of their Violence; and according to the Memorandum hereunto annexed, they spared as little in Italy as in Germany, the Estates which held only of the Emperor and Empire; for when the Question is about raising Contributions, it is all equal to Spain and her Allies. In fine, to shew how much they had at Heart the Feodal Law of the Empire, which they boasted in their Manifesto, to have observed scrupulously, and beyond the Tenour of Treaties and Investitures, by a regular and just Method of proceeding: The Infante Don Carlos, by his own Authority, declares himself of Age, and independent of any Person whatsoever; he not only emancipated himself, but he fixed the Age of Majority for all his Successors: This is what they call a religious Observance of Treaties, an Unwillingness to prejudice the Rights of Supremacy belonging to the Empire, a fulfilling all the Duties of a faithful Vassal, being governed by a Desire of Peace, and a Zeal for the Publick Tranquillity, being animated by Justice, and an Attachment to the Rules of prudence.

prudent Forbearance, before they attempted to make Use of Force.

The Hostilities now felt by the Emperor and Empire, will demonstrate to the other Princes of *Europe*, how much they may depend upon the Faith of *Spain*. The *English* Nation has no Reason to form from thence any happy Presage, with respect to an unalterable Harmony between the two Nations, or with respect to the Advantages of a fair and uninterrupted Commerce: Considering her Penetration, she cannot, upon this Head, have Occasion for any Information or Advice.

The King of *Spain* shews himself an Ally worthy of the *French*, who declare themselves Friends to the Empire, at the same Time that they attack it Sword in Hand. The King of *Sardinia* begins already to be sensible of the Chains he bears; he has been the Dupe of the two chief Branches of the House of *Bourbon*; and such will always be the Fate of those Princes who place Confidence in them: With them every Thing has the same End; their Moderation and their Love of Peace, last no longer than a favourable Occasion offers for making War; they seem to fall out, when there is a Necessity for diminishing that Umbrage which others may be susceptible of; but they reunite as soon as there appears an Opportunity for aggrandizing their House; and depressing that of *Austria*: Nevertheless the great Number of Enemies can no way shake the Constancy of his Imperial Majesty: Fraud and Perfidy may, at the Beginning, give some Advantages over him, but he may, with Confidence hope, that the Justice of his Cause will Triumph in the End.

As *France* did not think the Acquisition she had made in gaining the King of *Sardinia* over from the Interest of the House of *Austria*, and persuading the *Dutch* into a Neutrality, to be still sufficient for ruining the Emperor with that Expedition which she seems to have proposed to herself, she had recourse to all her Machinery to take off the most considerable Princes of the Empire, bring down the *Turk* into Christendom, and, at the same Time, persuade *Russia* into a Treaty. These Facts are so succinctly set down in a Memorial from the Emperor to his Allies deliver'd many Months ago, that we think it deserves a Place in our Register, and is as follows:

THE Emperor having heard with a great deal of Satisfaction, that his *Britannick Majesty* and the the States General, had charged their respective Embassadors at *Constantinople*, to use their Endeavours to dissuade the Porte from a Rupture with any of the *Christian Princes*; he resolved not to lose any Time in declaring his grateful Sense thereof. The Truth of the Advices contained in *Mynheer Calkoen's Letters*, Extracts whereof *Mynheer Hamel Bruyninx* has been pleased to communicate to the Imperial Court, is the less to be called in Question, because those Advices are confirmed, not only by the Relations transmitted by the Emperor's Resident at *Constantinople*, but more yet, by the several Springs which *France* is well known to have been playing in all the Courts mentioned in the said Letters of the Embassador of *Holland*. We could bring incontestable Proofs, but persuade ourselves, that the authentick Testimony of *M. Calkoen*, will fully satisfy the two maritime Powers of the true Sentiments of *France*, which tend to the entire Destruction of the Ballance of *Europe*. Her Engagements with several Princes of the Empire, of which *France* boasts, are but too true: One must be wilfully ignorant of what is doing in the World, to make any doubt of them. It is plainly seen also what are the Objects, the End, and Conditions thereof. The utter Destruction of the House of *Austria* is not compatible, either with the Ballance of *Europe*, or with the Engagements entred into with her; wherefore the better to succeed therein, *France* does all that is in her Power, not only to lull asleep, or draw off all the Emperor's Allies, but also to raise him up new Enemies. No Thanks to that Crown, if all *Germany* does not shortly become the Theatre of War. Besides the Alliances she maintains, in order to possess herself, on the one Hand, of the strong Places towards the *Lower Rhine*, and to penetrate, on the other, to the very Center of the Emperor's hereditary Countries; we should soon see fresh Troubles arise in the Country of *Mecklembourg*, were it not for her *Czarian Majesty's* unshaken Firmness, in standing inseparably by her good and faithful Allies. These are the Designs which *France* insinuates at the Porte, they will soon see break forth, in order to prevail with the Turk to lay hold of this Opportunity for the Ruin of *Christendom*. Shameful Designs! but which, at the the same Time are of such a Nature, that they may be prevented, tho they

they cannot be hinder'd, if ever they get to the Point of Maturity. And it would be to do Wrong to the Judgment and Penetration of his *Britannick Majesty*, and to the Prudence of the States General, to presume that they could view them in any other Light. The Emperor would imagine, therefore, he fell short of the Friendship he professes to bear them, if he should any longer delay to communicate to them what is lately come to his Knowledge.

He some Time since receiv'd Information of the Pains *France* was taking to draw off her *Czarian Majesty* from her Alliance with the Emperor. The Restitution of the *Russian Frigate*, which the *French* had taken, and the Payment of the Debts contracted by their Countrymen, who surrendered at *Wechsefmunde*, furnished out a plausible Pretence for trying all her Stratagems. *La Motte*, who commanded the Troops, attempted all manner of Ways to get the *Marquess de Monti* removed to *Petersbourg*, hoping he might be able to do his Court the same Service, as the *Marshel de Tallard* formerly did, upon an Occasion much like this. The cruel and barbarous Treatment which the *Russians*, taken on Board the said Frigate, had hitherto undergone, was changed into the mildest and politest Usage: The Frigate was restored, and they did as good as acknowledge, they were in the Wrong, to take her without a previous Declaration of War. A *Frenchman* of Distinction, formerly employ'd in several important and delicate Negotiations, was sent to *Petersbourg*: He went thither in the Retinue of *M. Hevel*, Confident and Secretary to Duke *Charles-Leopold*, of *Mecklembourg*: It was by this Means that the said *French* Emissary, who was provided with every Thing he had Occasion for, endeavoured to insinuate himself at the Court of *Russia*; Things were carried so far, that, with the *Frenchman's* Knowledge *M. Hevel* drew up the Projects of two Treaties; one between *France* and *Russia*, and the other between *France* and the Duke of *Mecklembourg*; whereof there are authentick Copies to be produced.

The Insincerity and the dangerous Views of *France* discover themselves more and more: It gives her no Concern to enter at the same Time, in different Courts, into Negotiations entirely opposite one to the other: Whilst at *Constantinople* she exclaims against *Russia*, she professes to bear no Ill-will to that Crown; whilst she uses her utmost Efforts in *Sweden* to conduct Matters to the same End, she offers her *Czarian Majesty* a Treaty of Alliance

and Guaranty, both against the Porte and against Sweden: Whilst at *Rome*, and some other Courts of *Europe*, she boasts of her pretended pacifick Sentiments (tho' expressed in her Answers to the Offers of good Offices, in the most general, equivocal, and ambiguous Terms) she gives the Porte Assurance upon Assurance, that she will not listen to any Proposal of Peace, but do all that is in her Power, to kindle the Flames of War in every Corner of *Europe*: Whilst, in short, she finds such Credit for her Protestations of Moderation and Friendship for her Neighbours, she makes an amazing Progress in her Work, to wit, the Destruction of the Ballance of *Europe*, and meditates Designs, which may one Day be fatal to them. It is not surprizing that *France* acts after this Manner; she finds her Account in it, and has been used so to do: But it would be surprizing, if, after so many Proofs in Time past, and the glaring Testimonies of the present, other Powers, should suffer themselves to be hoodwinked. Mynheer *Calkoen's* Evidence cannot be called in Question: A Dislemper that is known, and will be felt, requires a Remedy, and not an Inquisition. When a House is on Fire, Men run to put it out, without enquiring into the Cause of its being on Fire. The Interest of certain Powers, engages the Emperor not to conceal from them any proper Notice that have come to his Ears; nor could the bad Success of former Representations discourage him from it. This appear'd to him so important, for the Safety of their Commerce and their Constitution, that he could not, and would not dispense with the opening of it to them in a frank friendly Manner, even tho' he could not have promised himself the just Return, that the Interest of his august House should take up an equal Share of their Consideration.....

To conclude, the greater Danger there is of a War with the *Turks*, the more confidently does the Emperor rely upon the Friendship of certain Powers, and that they will order their respective Embassadors at *Constantinople* to support the Imperial Resident *Tahman*, and the Czarina's Minister *Neples*, in exposing the secret Views of *France*, the little Strefs there is to be laid upon her Assurances and Promisses, and the manifest Contradiction in her present Proceedings. It is to be hoped, that when the same Truths shall be equally attested by the Embassadors of those Powers, and by the Imperial and Muscovite Residents, it will cost little Trouble to undeceive the *Turks* with Regard to the false Ideas *France* endeavours

vours to insil into them. But as that Method alone may not be sufficient, it were to be wished those Embassadors were authorized to declare roundly to the Porte, that their Principals could not help setting just Bounds to the Progress of the Arms of *France*. Such a Declaration could not fail of producing a very good Effect at *Constantinople*, and in doing the Emperor this Pleasure, they would consult their own Interests, since it cannot be doubted, but, in Case of a Rupture with the Porte, the Emperor will turn all his Forces against that new Enemy; and they would then have the Ballance of *Europe* to maintain by themselves, and must consequently bear heavier Burdens than ever; whereas, without a Rupture, it will suffice to concur with the Emperor's good Intentions and vigorous Efforts; Efforts which infinitely surpass those of his august Predecessors.

Some Time after the Delivery of this Memorial, the Emperor's Ministers presented another from his Imperial Majesty to the Maritime Powers, demanding the Performance of their Engagements to him by Treaties, and complaining of their Delays. As it contains an excellent Chain of Argument, and strong Reasoning, we also insert it for the Satisfaction of our Readers.

The Emperor's Memorial to the Maritime Powers.

THE Emperor is extremely well satisfied to hear that a most perfect Union is so firmly established between his *Britannick* Majesty and my Lords the States-General. As that happy Union has, in former Times, so much contributed to the Preservation of the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, his Imperial Majesty cannot doubt but that it will serve for the same salutary End, in a Conjunction so critical as the present. The Preservation of this Ballance is the only Object of all his Wishes, of all his Applications, and of the extraordinary Efforts he makes to prevent, if possible, his succumbing under a Weight, which for nine Months past he has born, in a Manner, single and alone. He has given but too evident Proofs of his Moderation, and of his excessive Love for Peace.

However great the Evils may be which have from thence come upon him, and though every Thing he foretold, in Relation to the fatal Consequences of those Sacrifices he allow'd himself to be induced to make, has been too much
verifi'd

verify'd by the successive Events, yet he does not regret his having been so pacifick in his Inclinations: Even yet he persists in them, and is very far from imitating those, who, never content with the State of Things, as establish'd by the most solemn Treaties, are always disturbing their Neighbours, and eager, by all Manner of Ways, to aggrandize themselves more and more.

The Emperor has no Occasion to justify himself upon this Head; the notoriety of the Thing speaks sufficiently for him; and if he has any Thing to reproach himself with, it is only the allowing his Inclination for Peace to have carried him too far.

But notwithstanding the Proofs he has given of this his Inclination, since it appears by the last Memorial presented by Mr. Robinson and Mr. Hammel Bruyninx, that France insinuates the contrary, as well in England as in Holland, he cannot therefore dispense with going a little further back, and refreshing People's Memory, with Respect to Facts which happen'd several Years ago.

All Europe know, that at a Time when the Emperor was engag'd in the Defence of Christendom against the Turk in the Year 1717, Spain took hold of that Opportunity to attack him. He was then in a good State of Defence, and the Union between the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, did not at that Time seem so terrible, as at present it manifestly appears to be: War would not then have been near so burthensome to him, as it is at this Time, especially considering that he was then supported by Great Britain, in a Manner which he can never forget: Nevertheless, he yielded to the Instances made to him, for re-establishing, as soon as possible, the Peace of Europe: He renounced the Right he had to the greatest and the most considerable Part of the Spanish Monarchy: For the common Good of Europe he took upon himself the Guaranty of the Order of Succession, establish'd in Great Britain, in France, and in Spain; and, in fine, he consented that (by Way of Reward for the unjust Attack made upon him) the Estates of Tuscany and Parma should be settled eventually upon a Prince of the House of Bourbon: This last Article gave him more Concern than all the rest; not that he had any Design to unite these Estates with those he already possess'd; but because he foresaw that as soon as the two Branches of the House of Bourbon should become united betwixt themselves, that Addition of Power would facilitate to them the Means

of disturbing the Peace of Europe, and oppressing its Liberties, while, at the same Time, it would be an Obstacle to his Imperial Majesty's employing his Forces in assisting to preserve either the one or the other. His Imperial Majesty then declared what he apprehended upon this Head, and the many Precautions express'd in the fifth Article of the Quadruple Alliance, are so many authentick Proofs of his Foresight. But, in short, his well-grounded Fears were appeased by the Guaranties which were, by the very same Treaty, PROMIS'D HIM.

The Emperor most religiously fulfill'd those Engagements he had taken upon himself; he obtained the Consent of the Empire for confirming what had been stipulated in Favour of Don Carlos; he dispatched the Letters of Eventual Investiture, the Substance of the fifth Article of the Quadruple Alliance was repeated, in the Treaty of Peace concluded in 1725; and, during the Time that a strict Friendship subsisted between him and Spain, every Thing that was necessary to be done, in Case of Failure of Heirs Male in the Family of Medicis or Farnese, was regulated with the Duke of Bourbonville, agreeable to Treaties. It was his Imperial Majesty's Fault only, that he did not make up Matters with the Court of France, by the Interposition of that of Spain; but notwithstanding all that was from Time to Time insinuated, for diminishing the Value he put upon the Engagements which, they perceived, he desired to bring the Maritime Powers into, yet, for the Sake of the Benefit of Europe in general, more than for the Sake of any private Advantage of his own, he never would allow himself to be led into such Measures. — Even the Treaty of Seville itself, serv'd only to increase his Desire to unite closely with the two Maritime Powers, and to lay open more than ever, the dangerous Views of the Courts of France and Spain, then closely united together.

These were the Motives which, notwithstanding the vast Expence he had been at, to put himself in a Condition to support a War, made him prefer the Method of a friendly Accommodation: He was then Master of the Dutchies of Parma and Placentia; the Spanish Garrisons were not then introduced into the fortified Towns of Tuscany; they even offer'd to desist from that Pretension, provided his Imperial Majesty would give Ear to the Propositions made by the Duke of Liria, rather than to those made by Mr. Robinson; yet finding that nothing could induce him to come into such a Measure, and that the Treaty

of

of the 16th of March 1731, was happily concluded, Spain chose to dissemble the Malice she had from thence conceived, and to ratify what had been, in Conjunction with Great Britain, agreed on with the Duke of Liria, three Days before Father Ascanio sign'd a Convention of a very different Nature at Florence. This Sketch of the Sincerity of the Court of Madrid did no Way divert the Emperor from hastening to fulfil, on his Part, all the Engagements he had enter'd into, *confiding entirely in those Guaranties*, which were expressly contained, not only in the Treaty, but in the Declaration relating to the Spanish Garrisons: He suffer'd those very Garrisons to be introduced, and he evacuated Parma and Placentia before the Accession of the Lords the States General was sign'd at the Hague. — By such signal Marks of Sincerity and Moderation, he flatter'd himself with having satisfy'd every Desire which the Queen of Spain could, at least for some Time, conceive; but it happen'd quite otherwise, they took Care to start one Difficulty after another, and the more his Britannick Majesty labour'd in employing his good Offices for ending all Disputes, TO THE ADVANTAGE OF DON CARLOS, the more busy they were, from thence, to take Occasion to insinuate to the Imperial Court, that the Emperor would find his Account more IN AN UNION WITH THE HOUSE OF BOURBON than in the Guaranties of the two Maritime Powers; that without such an Union, they would keep his Italian Territories in continual Fears and Alarms; and that they would take particular Care to chuse the most convenient Time for giving the Blow, when it should not be in the Power of his Imperial Majesty's Allies to make good those Engagements upon which he so much depended.

While the Court of Spain made Use of these Artifices without Success, that of France pursu'd a Method something different, but such as tended to the same End. — She let slip no Opportunity to disunite, and sow Discord among those who ought always to join in Defence of the Liberty of Europe. — She mov'd Heaven and Earth against that Order of Succession, which had been establish'd in the august House of Austria: She flatter'd the Hopes of all those who had an Eye towards appropriating to themselves any Part of the Territories of the House of Austria. Long before the Death of the late King Augustus, the Dutchy of Milan was offer'd to the King of Sardinia, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to the Infante Don Carlos, and the rest of the Emperor's King-

doms and hereditary Countries were parcell'd out in several different Ways, according as the Ministers and Emissaries of France found it proper for their Purposes: It is well known how much the late King *Augustus* was flatter'd by the Court of *France*, notwithstanding the different Interests of their Father-in-Law. The aforesaid Method of parcelling out was made Use of by the *Marquess de Monti*, in Order to render *Stanislaus* acceptable to those, who, he imagin'd, might one Day be set up in Opposition to him. That Minister endeavour'd to make it appear to them, that nothing could be more for their Interest than to see *Stanislaus* upon the Throne of *Poland*: According to him, they might, by that Means, compleat their Design of surrounding the Territories of his Imperial Majesty in such a Manner, that it would be as easy for others to oppress him, as it would be difficult for him to be useful to his Allies, or to join with them in supporting the Balance of Power in *Europe*. The Neighbourhood of *Don Carlos* and the King of *Sardinia* to his Territories in *Italy*, that of the *Turk* and of *Stanislaus* on the Side of *Hungary* and *Silesia*, and the Offers they made of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* and the *Austrian Territories*, were look'd on as certain and infallible Methods of removing all those Obstacles which the House of *Bourbon* had till then found, in the Execution of their boundless and dangerous Views. For perfecting the Plan they had form'd, and for rendering of no Effect to the Emperor those Obstacles which he had, with great Earnestness, endeavour'd to throw in the Way of such pernicious Designs, it was necessary to take Care that their Schemes should not be discover'd, or at least, that they should not be believ'd by those who were equally concern'd with the Emperor, in preserving the Tranquility of *Europe*, and in supporting the Balance of Power; to this they apply'd themselves in a most peculiar Manner, and not without Success. The Emperor, on his Side, thought of nothing but of rendering more and more firm that System which had been establish'd, in order to serve as a Basis, and as a Foundation for the Liberties of *Europe*. He redoubled his Regard for his Allies; he push'd it so far, that the just Return, which he from thence expects, cannot but answer all his Desires; he endeavour'd to gain those who, for their own Preservation, ought to be as much concern'd in supporting the Balance of Power in *Europe* as he is. In short, he acted with so much Circumspection and Moderation, both with Respect to those Differences, which the Court of *Spain* gave Rise to, and

with Respect to the Affairs of *Poland*, that he has Reason to reproach himself with having gone too far, rather than with having been any way deficient in that Respect.

All these Precautions serv'd for nothing: The King of *France* turn'd his whole Forces against his Imperial Majesty: The King of *Sardinia* attack'd him in the most perfidious Manner; and notwithstanding the Court of *Spain's* having been offer'd every Thing they had ever before declar'd they desir'd, they join'd with the rest in making War upon him with all possible Vigour. The Blow was, in a great Measure, unforeseen by the Emperor, and yet, by a manifest Sort of Contradiction, they suppose him to have been inclin'd for War, while, at the same Time, they reproach him for being no way prepar'd for it: And after having swallow'd up so many Provinces one after another; after having pursued the most rapid Successes with the utmost Vigour; after having mov'd Heaven and Earth, in order to deprive the Emperor of the Assistance of his Allies; after having solicited all the Courts of *Europe* against him, and after having endeavour'd, as much as possibly they could, to stir up even the *Turk* against him, the Enemies of this Prince cannot certainly with any Sort of Countenance, pretend to set up for having an Inclination for Peace, when the contrary appears so by many incontestable Proofs; at least, the Emperor cannot imagine that any one will allow himself to be so impos'd on; it would be a Misfortune greater than any has yet befallen him, if such Professions, so inconsistent with their Actions, should meet with the least Credit.

Among those who have so often experienc'd, how dangerous it is to trust the Professions of *France*, the Emperor would do Injustice to the great Penetration of his *Britannick* Majesty, and to the Wisdom and Foresight of my Lords the States-General, if he should apprehend in the least that such Artifices could make any Impression upon their Minds. The Views of *France* become every Day more and more manifest; it is known to all *Europe*, that the Troubles with which it has been agitated for so many Years, are originally owing to the unbounded Ambition of the Queen of *Spain*, and to her impetuous Desire to aggrandize her Posterity at any Rate; and there is no one so unjust as not to abhor the enormous and perfidious Behaviour of the King of *Sardinia* towards the Emperor: In such Circumstances, it is possible that his Imperial Majesty can fail of having the Assistance of his Allies? Or that, for
re-esta-

re-establishing the Ballance of Power, they can desire of him to make new Sacrifices, *which, upon the first Occasion that offers will be a fresh Provocation for the insatiable Appetites of his unjust and perfidious Aggressors?* This the Emperor can by no Means believe, since it is not the Method prescribed by Treaties for remedying so great Evils. By those Treaties indeed it is said that good Offices may be employ'd, before giving that Assistance which may be demanded in Case of an Attack by either of the contracting Parties, *but the Interposition of their good Offices is limited to the Term of two Months and can have nothing else for their Object, but the RESTITUTION of what has been unjustly taken away, and the REPARATION of the Damages that have been suffer'd.* Nothing would have been more agreeable to the Emperor, than such an Interposition of the good Offices of the two Maritime Powers. From thence he would have promised himself all the good Effects which he could have desir'd; and in this Sense he agrees, *that they might have prevented the Events of the War FROM RENDERING IT MORE DIFFICULT to bring about a friendly Accommodation:* But the said Term is expired, more than *nine Months* having pass'd since the Rupture made by the three Powers before-mention'd.

The Emperor has, without ceasing, solicited again and again for a Performance of those Guaranties which have been promis'd him; he knows too well the Value of them, ever to be capable of giving them up, or so much as inclined to desist from the Demand; *the obtaining of these Guaranties was his only Motive for consenting to the establishing a Prince of the House of Bourbon in Italy, for evacuating Parma and Placentia; for allowing Spanish Garrisons to be introduced into the fortify'd Places of Tuscany; and for his rejecting all the Offers and all the Prophecies of the Court of Spain, founded upon the secret Insinuations of that of France.* It is in vain for People to flatter themselves with re-establishing the Publick Tranquillity, and rendering it more secure for the future by a new Treaty, 'till the preceding Treaties be made effectual. His Imperial Majesty neither desires nor wishes any Thing more, than to see them fulfill'd in all their Articles; and after the Efforts which he has made for preserving the Liberty of Europe, it cannot be deny'd, but that it may be very easy to warrant it against any Attempt for a long Time to come, providing only that he be effectually supported. *As the Emperor is*

not in a Condition to make always the same Efforts; the two Maritime Powers can never have an Opportunity, when it will cost them less, to establish firmly and speedily a lasting Peace in Europe, and to secure the Advantages of their Commerce in such a Manner, that they may no longer be subject to the Caprices of the Court of Spain.

If *France*, instead of turning her Arms against the Emperor, had turn'd them against the two Maritime Powers, had swallow'd up their Provinces one after another, and in the Midst of great Protestations of her Inclination for Peace, had push'd on the War with the utmost Vigour; the Emperor would not certainly have given any Credit to what they said, nor would he have imagined that he could have sufficiently shew'd his Zeal for the Publick Good, or his Friendship for the Parties attack'd, by offering, after nine Months Time, his Mediation, instead of performing those Guarantees in which he stands engaged. But the Engagements which result from Treaties are reciprocal; they are of equal Force, with Respect to every one of the contracting Parties, and that stable and solid System by which only the Tranquility, the Happiness, and the Liberty of *Europe* can be secur'd, must vanish, as soon as People begin to depart from those Measures which have been settled by an unanimous Consent, and which have been judged to be necessary for so salutary an End: The Emperor's Desire to see the publick Tranquility restored as soon as possible, cannot therefore be greater than it is, nor his Love of Peace more sincere; so many Sacrifices which he has, upon more than one Occasion, determin'd to make, and of which he now feels but too much the fatal, though not the unforeseen Effects, are convincing Proofs of it. We have only to consider what Methods may be proper to be taken, for speedily and fully securing such a Tranquility as may be really desirable; that is to say, such a one as may not any Way prejudice the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, which is already but too much weaken'd, and consequently such a Tranquility as may be expected to continue for some Time.

These Methods have no need of any farther Examination or Discussion; they are clearly express'd and ascertain'd by Treaties. What Security can the Emperor have, with Respect to future Events, if he finds no Security in the present Conjuncture, which is, perhaps, the most critical, and the least doubtful, of any that can ever

ever happen? It is upon these Methods, that his Imperial Majesty must insist; from them he cannot depart, without doing an Injury to himself, to his Dignity, and to his Glory; without failing in that Duty which he owes to his faithful Subjects, and in short, without neglecting the publick Good of *Europe*.

Besides these Motives, which are in themselves so pressing, the proper Interest of the two Maritime Powers themselves, and the real Friendship which his Imperial Majesty has for them, cannot permit him to pursue any other Measure. The Court of *Spain* have but too fully verify'd what they have more than once insinuated to the Court of *Vienna*: By the Troubles which they have from Time to Time found Means to excite, they have prevented the Emperor's being ever in a Condition to taste the Fruits of a profound Tranquility; the continual Perturbations of *Europe*, have engaged him in excessive Expences: By the Number and the Power of his Enemies, he found himself obliged to make Efforts, which it is not possible for him to repeat often: These Efforts he made, only to facilitate to the two Maritime Powers, the Means of putting Affairs again upon a good Footing, without putting themselves to any great Charge, and without subjecting themselves to any Risque.

If the Efforts which he has made, are to be not only render'd useless, but made to serve for procuring new Advantages to the House of *Bourbon*, the two Maritime Powers must thereby render useless the best and the most faithful Ally they have; and *France* will obtain what she desires, which is, to be able to keep all his Imperial Majesty's Territories in a continual Alarm, without its being possible for him to support the Liberty of *Europe*, already in too tottering a Condition: This is what lies most heavy upon his Heart.

Unfortunately! the Emperor has never been deceived in what he has foreseen or foretold, with respect to the Consequences of the Increase of Power in the House of *Bourbon*: At present he foresees Consequences more fatal and less remote than any he has ever foreseen: He desires to prevent them, and he will endeavour it to the utmost of his Power. He does not seek to aggrandize himself; all his Views are bounded, in being able to employ his Forces for the Preservation of his Territories, for that of the Empire, whose Interests are so dear to him, and for the Repose of others. The greatest Part of the Advantage arising from thence will accrue to his Allies, from whom

whom he is, and always will be inseparable. It sticks on them to break those Bands with which all Europe is threaten'd by the House of *Bourbon*: The fulfilling of those Guaranties, which have been stipulated by Treaties, is the only Method for securing so great an Advantage, and that is what the Emperor demands, in the most friendly and the most emphatical Manner he can think of.

After the Accomplishment of what is stipulated by those Guaranties, the Emperor will be ready to join in the Method of a friendly Accommodation. Upon that Occasion, as on every other, he will make it appear that his Desire of Peace is as sincere and as real, *as that which France pretends to is deceitful, and BELIED by her own Conduct.* In taking Matters upon this Foot, it is not to be feared, that the Events of War may render it more difficult to bring about a friendly Accommodation. On the contrary, they must conduce thereto, and then the Emperor will, with Alacrity and Readiness, give Ear to any Propositions that may be consistent with his Honour, with the Quiet of his Territories, with the Preservation of the Ballance of Power in Europe, and consequently with the essential Interests of the two Maritime Powers; so that by Way of Answer to the Representations made the 17th of this Month, by the Ministers of his *Britannick Majesty* and my Lords the States General of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, the Emperor is not against their taking the Method of employing their good Offices, *if by that Method they can religiously perform all that is required by Treaties, and if by that Method, the Execution of them be no longer retarded.*

But at the same Time the Emperor believes, that at this Time of Day, *to content themselves with employing only their good Offices, will expose all Europe to a much greater Danger*; and that, as Affairs stand at present, it is in vain to flatter themselves with being able by any such Method, to satisfy what he has a Right to demand, by Virtue of those Engagements which have been enter'd into by Treaties; a full Performance of which, the Emperor, with Confidence, expects from the two Maritime Powers, he being ready, upon all Occasions, to give them signal Marks of a most compleat Return, and of a Friendship the most constant and sincere.

As the March of the *Russians* gave a Handle to several Princes of the Empire to exclaim against that Step in the Emperor, though they themselves had refused to furnish their own Contingents, his Imperial Majesty deliver'd the following Rescript by the Prince of *Fur-
embourg*, his principal Commissary at the Diet of *Ra-
tisbon*.

The Emperor's Rescript about the Russian Auxiliaries.

THO' his Imperial Majesty has always, since his Accession to the Imperial Dignity, so carefully avoided to give foreign Powers the least Subject of Discontent, or Complaint against his Imperial Majesty, or against the *Roman Empire*, that, on the contrary, his Imperial Majesty has not only frequently neglected, for the Love of Peace, his Rights, and those of his Archducal House, but even sacrificed them on several Occasions, for the Good of the publick Tranquility, as is sufficiently known to the whole Empire: Nevertheless, those pacifick Dispositions and Intentions of his Imperial Majesty, carried perhaps too far, have not been able to withhold those Powers, by which the Liberty and Repose of *Europe* have been so often disturbed, nor to hinder them from attacking his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, under a Pretence invented by them, and sufficiently refuted; and that at a Time when his Imperial Majesty, the Empire, his faithful Subjects and Vassals, relied upon the Faith of the most solemn Treaties, Alliances, Guarantees, Oaths, and other Bonds, the most sacred of Civil Society. His Imperial Majesty did not fail to represent forthwith to the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, by his Commissorial Decree of *Nov. 4, 1733*, what it was Expedient to do, for the Good, Security, and Dignity of the Empire after so unjust an Attempt: That Decree was follow'd by a Declaration of War, published the 10th of *March, 1733*, in Pursuance of the Result of the Empire, approved by his Imperial Majesty.

As the Enemy were long since prepared for War, it was not at all difficult for them to open the last Campaign, before the Forces of his Imperial Majesty, and those of the Empire could be assembled; and to that the Loss of *Kehl*, and *Philipsbourg* is solely to be imputed. The vigorous Defence of the Garrison made the Enemy feel, with Usury, the Inconveniencies of a War, and the Sickneses that happened afterwards, by an Effect of the
Divine

Divine Providence, carried off the Flower of their Army. During that Time, the two Maritime Powers having offered their good Offices for procuring and attaining to the Re-establishment of the general Tranquillity of his Imperial Majesty, without hesitating one Moment immediately yielded to all that might contribute to the said Re-establishment, notwithstanding the dangerous Consequences which might result from thence to the Balance of *Europe*, by the growing Power of his Imperial Majesty's Enemies, those of the Empire, and the publick Liberty, and maugre the Prejudice, which would thereby accrue to the Archducal House of his Imperial Majesty; so, that if a solid and reasonable Peace, with the Balance of *Europe*, cannot be attained to, it cannot be imputed to his Imperial Majesty, but solely to his Enemies and those of the Empire.

As the vast Views of the House of *Bourbon* manifest themselves more and more, and certainly the Danger of a general Oppression has never been so near as at present, and the rather, because unjust Pretensions are set up with Haughtiness, and Violence, to the Prejudice of the incontestable Rights of a Third, therefore no proper Means ought to be neglected to obviate those dangerous Views to re-establish the general Liberty, and to hinder the Destruction of the inward Tranquillity. It is to be presumed, that the more Difficult it will be for the Powers in Enmity to execute their Designs, which may even prove prejudicial to their Adherents, the more easy it will be to the Maritime Powers to attain those Ends which they proposed to themselves by their good Offices for the general Tranquillity. 'Tis with this salutary View that his Imperial Majesty, for the publick Good and common Security, without Prejudice to any whomsoever, and in Conformity to what has been stipulated in the 4th Article of the Imperial Capitulation, has resolved to make Use of the Succours her *Czarian* Majesty had so generously granted him. The exact Discipline which the *Russians* observe, is known to every one; so that there is no Excess to be feared on their Part; and his Imperial Majesty charges himself with the Care, that in their Passage none shall receive Hurt, and that every Thing to be furnished shall be paid according to its just Value. It is to be hoped, that in this Circumstance of Affairs, God will bless the just Cause, and that we shall not only find ourselves in a Condition to hinder the Enemy from penetrating further into the Empire, but that we may even be able

able to carry the War into their own Dominions, where-
by we shall have Reason to promise ourselves a speedy
and durable Peace, &c.

Given at Ratisbon, the 15th of June, 1735.

And as the Eleſtor of *Bavaria* was one of thoſe Princes
who declin'd ſending their Contingents, he wrote to the
Emperor the following Letter by Way of Excuse.

The Duke of Bavaria's Letter to the Emperor.

I HAVE, with due Reſpect and Submiſſion, receiv'd
your Imperial Maſteſty's moſt gracious Reſcript, dated
March 9, in which your Imperial Maſteſty, by Virtue of
your Imperial Dignity, and in Conſequence of your pa-
ternal Care for the Defence of our dear Country, exhorts
me to furniſh, in Conformity to my Duty, as a Member
of the Empire, my Contingent of Troops to the Army
of the Empire; and the rather becauſe I had promiſed
to do it immediately after the Separation of the States of
the Circle of *Bavaria*.

I did, in Purſuance of my Promiſe, cauſe the ſaid
Contingent to be aſſembled laſt Year, and even fixed
the Time for the Departure of thoſe Troops; but your
Imperial Maſteſty will be pleaſed to remember the Rea-
ſons which induced me to ſuſpend their March, for my
own Security, and that of my Dominions. Without
mentioning the Separation, made by your Imperial Ma-
ſteſty's Order, of the Quota-parts of the Troops of *Saltz-
bourg*, and other States of the Circle of *Bavaria*, I ſhall
content myſelf with mentioning the Redoubt which was
built in the County of *Tyrol*, upon the Frontiers of my
Dominions, and the making Uſe, in building the ſame,
of Wood felled on my Land, where a Line was alſo drawn
unknown to me, in Appearance to facilitate from hence
an Irruption into my Dominions. Moreover the Arms
I cauſed to be bought at *Liege*, a City dependent upon
the Empire, were ſtopp'd at *Frankfort*, by Order of the
Count de *Kufftein*, Privy Counſellor to your Imperial
Maſteſty. And though thoſe Arms were afterwards reſto-
red to me, no Satisfaction was ever made me upon that
Account, nor that of the Line drawn upon my Territo-
ries, notwithstanding the ſeveral Inſtances made on my
Part for that Purpoſe. As by my Conduſt, in Quality
of Member of the Empire, I have never given the leaſt
Occaſion for ſuch Proceedings, your Imperial Maſteſty

G g

will,

will, without doubt, acknowledge, how much it ought to affect a faithful Elector of the Empire, attached to your Imperial Majesty, and who has the Honour to be so closely allied to you by the Ties of Blood; and the more, because the Estates of the Elector of *Cologne*, my Brother, have been over-charged in the Winter Quarters, and that Prince himself treated, on divers Accounts, in a very harsh Manner; so that from this Contempt of the Brothers Electors, it appears that your Imperial Majesty does not bear that Affection to my House which I had Reason to hope for, in regard of the Confidence which I always had, and yet have in your Imperial Majesty's Favour.

I therefore most humbly beseech your Imperial Majesty, to be pleased to give me some real Marks of the Honour of your Protection, and to order those to be punished, who, contrary to your Orders, and unknown to your Imperial Majesty, had any Share in drawing the Line upon my Territories, and that the Redoubt, though built upon your Imperial Majesty's Territories, and therefore not to be contested, be nevertheless demolished, the better to assure a good Neighbourhood; or that it be not taken ill that I build another opposite to it upon my Territories, for the Security of my Country.

I assure your Imperial Majesty of my inviolable Attachment, and constant Fidelity to our Country, and hope that you will at last seriously reflect upon the Re-establishment of the good Understanding, and close Union between the two Houses, which I have been so often made to hope for, by putting an End to the Mistrust conceived against me and my House, which was so heightened by the Guaranty demanded of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, or Order of Succession, established in 1713, which I cannot accept, without Prejudice to the Rights of Succession of my House. I cannot therefore be blamed if, for the Security and Maintenance of the Rights of my House, and in Conformity to the Laws of Nature in the like Circumstances, I find it necessary not to separate the few Forces God has given me; which ought to appear the less strange, because other States, upon whom your Majesty heaps Favours, and who are not exposed to the same Dangers and Uneasinesses, furnish indeed a few Troops at your Imperial Majesty's Charge, and to the Prejudice of *Some*, but give not for their Contingent one single Man at their own Cost.

After all these incontestable Reasons, I hope your Majesty and the whole Empire will not take it ill, that I persist in the Conduct I have hitherto observed, as long as it shall not please your Majesty to ease me of my present just Inquietudes: And I flatter myself, that in Consideration of the Ties of Blood, so close, as those subsisting between the two Houses, your Majesty will be pleased, by taking off those Marks of Contempt, which I have formerly felt to my great Regret, to give me Opportunities of reviving those Testimonies of Fidelity and Affection, which have so greatly distinguished my Ancestors towards those of your Imperial Majesty, and which I inherit from them; that I may be able to contribute to the renewing and perpetuating for ever a perfect Union.

With which Proviso, and in case it should still be necessary, notwithstanding the Hopes of a speedy Peace, I shall always be ready to send at the proper Time my Contingent to the Army of the Empire, in Quality of Member, &c. Given at Munich, April 2.

Signed,

CHARLES ALBERT.

To which his Imperial Majesty reply'd as follows, viz.

The Emperor's Reply.

CHARLES VI. &c. &c. We have received in its due Time your Electoral Highness's Letter of April 2, of the current Year, and have seen therein with Displeasure, that you make Use of the same Subterfuges, so often alledged, so little grounded, and which even in Part do not subsist, in order to excuse yourself from sending your Contingent of Troops to the Army of the Empire.

Your Electoral Highness is not ignorant, that since the Publication of the Declaration of War, and in particular the 23d of March, 14th of April, 11th of May, 10th of June, and 26th of September, in the Year 1734, and the 9th of March the current Year, we have, in a paternal Manner, exhorted you to cause your Contingent to march, in Conformity to your Duty as Member of the Empire; and that while you alledged, from Time to Time, some new Difficulties to retard its March, we have on our Side neglected nothing to remove them, to

the End that no Shadow of Pretence might be left you, however ill-grounded it might be.

The summoning of the Assembly of the States of the Circle of *Bavaria*, served at first for a Pretext of deferring the March of the said Contingent: That Assembly took Place, but the inconsiderable Quota-parts of that Circle was not deliberated upon therein. However, as your Electoral Highness continued to defer the March of your Contingent, we could not forbear to order that of the Contingents of the other States of the Circle of *Bavaria*; but we have, in that respect, used all the Prudence required, in order not to prejudice your Dignity of Prince Director of that Circle.

At the same Time, the Affair which happened upon the Frontiers of *Tyrol* was alledged, with the Promise however, that as soon as that Affair was terminated, the abovesaid Contingent should forthwith march. Our Regency of *Inspruck* immediately remedied the Inconveniences of that Affair, undertaken by some private Persons without our Knowledge, or that of the said Regency; and we did, on our Side, as soon as we received the Letter written to us by your Electoral Highness upon that Subject, the 30th of *August*, last Year, answer your Electoral Highness by ours of the 26th of *September*, in a Manner and in such amicable Terms, that your Electoral Highness testified to us in Writing your Acknowledgment, with such Expressions as shewed how much you were satisfied with it: Nevertheless, the March of your Contingent was anew suspended, under Pretence of the alledged Winter Quarters; and in the Course of this Year we were assured, that in Case there was no Camp at *Eger*, the abovesaid Contingent should march without Delay: That Camp did not take Place, but had it even been formed, it had no other View than to our own Security and Defence, without pretending to prejudice any one whomsoever; and we have neglected nothing to give your Electoral Highness the strongest Assurances upon that Subject, as we do now again. Notwithstanding all this, your Electoral Highness has not vouchsafed to comply with your Duty, as Member of the Empire; and as we in our Dominions do not make near the same Preparations of War, as you do in yours, it seems that the Difficulties succeed one another; no sooner is one removed than immediately another is started. We certainly pretend not to disquiet your Electoral Highness: You ought to be persuaded thereof, in Consideration of the

the strong Proofs you have of it by our Letters, written in Part by our own Hand ; and it is rather we that have Reason to conceive some Inquietude on the Part of your Electoral Highness, than you on ours.

As it concerns us at present, that your Electoral Highness should give immediate Orders for the March of your Contingent, and that for the rest, you execute all that is incumbent upon you, as Member of the Empire ; we will not doubt but you will do it forthwith, in Pursuance of your own Promisses : Wherefore, we exhort you to it by these Presents, we command it you respectfully in the most amicable Terms, and with the strongest Instances, and we wish nothing more, than not to have Reason to conceive any Inquietude on the Part of any one whomsoever, as we pretend not to disquiet any Body, &c. Given at Vienna, April 23, 1735.

We here close the Affairs of Germany for this Time, leaving the Operations of the Campaign and other Occurrences for our next Number.



G R E A T B R I T A I N.

THE Plan of Accommodation or Pacification, projected by the King of *Great Britain* and the States General of the united Provinces of the Netherlands, in Consequence of the Acceptation of the Offer of their good Offices, and proposed to the Powers engaged in the present War, has been treated with so much Disrespect, if not Contempt, by the Crowns of *France*, *Spain* and *Sardinia*, that a Narrative of the whole Affair cannot but be instructive to a *British* Ear ; wherefore we begin with the Plan itself, which is as follows :

Plan of Accomodation.

IT is not necessary to the End his *Britannick* Majesty and their High Mightinesses proposed to themselves by this Project, scrupulously to examine, Whether the Broils occasioned by the Vacancy of the Throne of *Poland*, be the Principal, if not the Only Motive for the present War ; or, whether they be not the accidental Cause there-
of :

of: It will be sufficient to make the two following Observations.

First, that in the present Conjunction of Affairs, it would be needless to endeavour at an Accommodation without beginning with *Poland*.

Secondly, That it will evidently appear to those who reflect ever so little on the Nature of those Broils, which have happened by the Vacancy of the Throne of *Poland*, and the present Circumstances of that Kingdom, that it will be absolutely necessary, in order to accommodate those Broils, to avoid any critical Discussions of Right, and several other Intricacies of the like Nature.

In Consequence of these two Preliminary Observations, his *Britannick Majesty* and their High Mightinesses think they may justly say, that the most probable, if not the only Way, to put a Stop to those Broils, in such a Manner as may remove the Uneasiness of the Emperor and of *Russia*, and at the same Time save the Honour of *France* and of King *Stanislaus*, and so pave the Way towards so desirable a Peace, by Removal of so essential an Obstacle, would be, that King *Stanislaus*, by Consent of his Son-in-law, the Most Christian King, should declare by an Act in due Form, addressed to the *Polish Nation*, his Subjects, *That preferring, in his advanced Age, the Repose and Tranquillity of a private Life, to any of the World's most shining Advantages, and having, as King of Poland, discharged those Duties he owed to himself and his faithful Subjects, he does freely and voluntarily renounce his Right to the Crown of Poland; and declare that his Polish Subjects are discharged and free from the Oath of Fidelity which they have, or ought to have taken to him, as their lawful King; in the firm Expectation that all Europe, especially the most Christian King, to whom he has the Honour to be Father-in-law, will approve of this Step, which is calculated so apparently to end the Troubles in Poland, and restore Peace betwixt the Powers now in War upon that Account.*

But as his *Britannick Majesty* and their High Mightinesses are very sensible, that the greatest Delicacy is required, where Honour, especially the Honour of Sovereigns, is concerned; however plausible this Expedient may appear to them, they propose it only under the following Restrictions.

I. That King *Stanislaus* shall retain the Titles of King of *Poland*, and Great Duke of *Lithuania*, with all the Honours and Prerogatives annexed to those august Titles and Rank, to whatever Place he shall retire.

II. That

II. That the Prince shall have the free Enjoyment of all his Estates, and those of the Queen his Consort.

III. That there shall be a general Amnesty for all that past, in relation to the present Troubles, for all Persons, of whatsoever Rank or Condition they be; particularly, that all the Provinces, Cities, or Towns (especially *Dantzick*) where King *Stanislaus* may have retired since his Election, shall be restored to the same State and Condition in which they were before the present Troubles with Relation to their Rights, Liberties, Privileges, Honours, and Dignities; and maintained in the Possession of the same; and farther, That, immediately after this Abdication, the Fort of *Wechselmunde* shall be restored to the City of *Dantzick*, and that the Remainder of the Mulet, or Fine, imposed on that City by the *Saxons*, shall be remitted.

These Conditions shall be inserted, and make an essential Part of the aforesaid Acts: And, in order to render the Execution of them the more secure, the adverse Party, who call themselves the *Confederate Republick*, or the Diet of *Pacification*, if assembled, when King *Stanislaus* shall publish his Abdication, shall send him a solemn Deputation to return him Thanks, for the Sacrifice he has been so good to make of his own most valuable Interests, for the Repose and Tranquility of his Country; and to deliver into his Hands an Act of Acceptation, in which the said Conditions shall be inserted; and, in Default of that, King *Stanislaus's* Abdication shall be deemed null, and as if it had never been made.

That Abdication shall be also deemed null and void, if the *Russian* Troops do not retire out of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and the great Dutchy of *Lithuania*; immediately after the Publication of the said Acts of Abdication.

After which King *Stanislaus* shall notify the same to the Princes to whom he notified his Election; and the Emperor, the King of *Great-Britain*, and the States General, in their Answers to the said Letters of Notification, shall acknowledge him for King of *Poland*, (conformably to his said Act of Renunciation of the Crown) and shall employ their best Endeavours with their Friends and Allies, that they may do the same.

And as the Troubles in *Poland* are the principal Cause of the present War, all the Contending Powers, in order to contribute as much as in them lies to the Accommodation, shall guaranty the same, and even employ their Good Offices with the Empress of *Russia*, that

that she may do the same, and that immediately after King *Stanislaus's* Abdication, she may withdraw all her Troops out of *Poland*, that the *Polanders* may quietly and without Constraint, enjoy the Liberties and Prerogatives of their Constitution, and particularly the free Election of their King.

And finally, if, contrary to all Appearance, it should happen in the Course of the Negotiation for accepting the present Plan of Accommodation, the Reasons for which King *Stanislaus's* Abdication is looked upon as the most likely, tho' not the only Expedient to put an amicable End to the Troubles in *Poland*, should happen to be superseded by some unforeseen Accident, the rest of the Preliminaries shall nevertheless remain entire.

The principal Dominions of the Emperor in *Italy* conformably to the last Treaties of Peace, being by the Fortune of War, the Strefs whereof the French from the Beginning carried into *Italy*, fallen into the Hands of *France* and her Allies; the Emperor, out of a sincere Desire to procure *Europe* a solid and lasting Peace, will relinquish to *Don Carlos* the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*; and to the King of *Sardinia*, *Tortona* and its District, *Novarra* and the *Novarrois*, and the *Vigevanasco*, to be dismember'd from the Dutchy of *Milan*, and be hereafter incorporated with *Piedmont*; with full Power in the King of *Sardinia*, to fortify all the said Places, and at other Frontiers he shall judge necessary for the Security of his own Dominions: Provided always that *France* and her Allies shall, *bona fide*, restore whatever else they may have taken from the Emperor or the Empire, since the Beginning of this War; and that the Infante *Don Carlos*, on his Part, shall yield up to the Emperor his Right to *Tuscany*, and the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Piacentia*, to be possessed by the Emperor in full Property with a particular Exception, however, to the City of *Leghorn*, which, for freedom of Commerce, shall be a free City and Port, and independent on any other Sovereign but their own Magistrates; and moreover, the Infante shall engage, as King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, that the Trade of the Subjects of the King of *Great-Britain* and their High Mightinesses, shall be forthwith put on the same Foot as in the Reign of *Charles II.* of *Spain*, of glorious Memory: And as the Emperor cannot enter into the Possession of *Tuscany*, nor have any of the Revenues thereof during the Life of the Grand Duke; the Infante will be possessed of the Kingdoms of *Naples*

and Sicily; in the mean Time, an Equivalent in Money for the Emperor shall be treated of in the ensuing Negotiation.

As the Peace of Europe depends upon preserving the Balance of its Powers, it is absolutely necessary that the Possession of the House of *Austria* should remain entire. France, animated with the same Desire as the Emperor, of procuring a lasting and solid Peace to Europe, shall guaranty the *Pragmatick Sanction* of the Year 1713, in the same Manner as other Powers have already guaranty'd it; and by Consequence, this Guaranty shall be understood only of those Countries which the Emperor now possesses, or may actually possess, by Virtue of this Plan, without including any of those to which he or his House may form Pretensions; or which he or his Successors may acquire by Succession, Marriage, or otherwise.

As Spain has already guaranty'd the said *Pragmatick Sanction*, it is presumed she will make no Difficulty to renew it on this Occasion; and that the King of *Sardinia* will follow the Example of his Allies.

It would be wronging the Penetration of the Powers engaged in the present War, if his *Britannick Majesty* and the States General thought themselves obliged to insert here the particular Reasons which, in their Opinion, should induce them to accept this Plan, or at least to look upon it as a Basis for a Negotiation, to bring about an Accommodation.

It will lie on those Powers, to whom the Plan shall be proposed, to judge of it, it not being the Intention of his *Britannick Majesty* and the States General to prejudice them in its Favour, otherwise than by desiring them to consider the several Branches thereof, and compare the Whole with the present Situation of Affairs; they being well persuaded, that whoever will be at the Pains to do this, will easily acknowledge, that nothing but a sincere Desire to reconcile Differences, and thereby procure a lasting Peace in Europe, is the Motive they have acted upon, in proposing it with all the Impartiality imaginable.

His *Britannick Majesty* and the States General cannot in the least doubt, but this Plan will every where meet with a favourable Reception; and that the Answers of the Powers to whom it shall be offered, will be as expeditious, as clear, and as categorical as the Circumstance of the Season requires; and that they will authorise his *Britannick Majesty* with the States General to make a

new Effort, towards promoting a general Pacification, by proposing the shortest Method for a formal Treaty, wherein all the Differences may be adjusted and finally ended.

But, whatever may happen, his *Britannick* Majesty and the States General will have this Consolation at least, that this Plan will, in After-times, serve for a Monument of their sincere Desire of procuring Peace to *Europe*; and that those who refuse it, will alone be answerable for all the Miseries that the Continuance of the War will be attended with. Nothing, in short, can retard the Pacification more, than to raise new Obstacles; and, by Consequence, nothing is more opposite to the good Intentions of his *Britannick* Majesty and the States General, in proposing to the contending Powers this Project of Accommodation, than a Continuation of Hostilities: And for these Reasons, they look upon it as indispensibly necessary to propose to the said Powers a general Armistice, for all the Time of the Negotiation; and to exhort them, with all the Earnestness that is possible, every one of them to consent thereto, without any Delay; the Spring, and, of Course, the Time of bringing Armies into the Field; being near at Hand.

When the *French* Ministers were applied to for their Approbation of the above Plan, their Answer was, 'That they could by no Means approve any Plan of Pacification, which did not leave *Stanislaus* upon the Throne of *Poland*, *de facto*; nor would they consent to an Armistice, unless all foreign Troops should retire out of that Kingdom: Adding, however, that it was kind in the Mediators to devise a Salvo for King *Stanislaus's* Honour, tho' his Majesty would never have Occasion for it; and that, to shew their Sense of the Civility; they should be glad to concur in a Project for satisfying the Honour of the Elector of *Saxony* in the same Manner.' By which they meant, that they would be willing to turn the Tables, and allow King *Augustus* the Glory of resigning, with Leave to keep what empty Titles he pleased.

But this Answer was not given or demanded as a conclusive one, the Time having been too short for consulting the other Allies; nevertheless, the Emperor sent his Answer to the Plan in the Interim, which we hear was to the following Effect: 'That as to the *Polish* Affairs, his Imperial Majesty could make no Reply, till he had consulted

consulted his Allies, the *Czarina* and King *Augustus*; but as for the other Articles, he perceived, with Concern, that his Enemies were like to find so well their Account in them; however, he was willing to consent to a Cessation of Arms, provided the Enemy withdrew their Troops out of the neutral Countries; because, if the *French* Troops on the *Rhine* should stay in the Territories of the Empire, they would entirely exhaust their Provisions and save those of *France*, whilst his Imperial Majesty, on the other Hand, must be obliged to subsist his Troops from the Product of the Empire; which would be as much Inconvenience as the Operations of a Campaign: That his Imperial Majesty left it to the Maritime Powers to sketch out the Armistice by these Out-lines, and to accompany it with some Preliminary Articles, his Imperial Majesty being desirous to enter, as far as depended on him, into all Measures for restoring an honourable and lasting Peace: Then he concluded with the usual Demand of the Succours, which the Maritime Powers were engaged by Treaties to furnish him, in Case *France* should refuse to listen, as generously as had done, to the Propositions and Exhortations of the Mediators.

This was the Emperor's first Answer; and still to assure the Powers Mediators of his Inclination for Peace, his Imperial Majesty deliver'd, by the Count *d'Uhleveldt*, his Minister at the *Hague*, a second Declaration upon that Head to their High Mightinesses Deputies on the 7th of May, N.S. viz.

Though upon the Communication made to the Emperor, of the Resolution of the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, of the 26th of February last, his Imperial and Catholick Majesty did not in the least hesitate to send his Minister at the *Hague*, the Count *d'Uleveldt*, full Powers and Instructions to regulate and sign, as well the Preliminary Articles as a Suspension of Arms; and that after such a Proceeding, there can no longer any Doubt remain, of his sincere Desire to hasten the Re-establishment of the Tranquility of Europe: Nevertheless, in order to concur, to the utmost of his Power, in whatever can promote the pacifick Design of the two Maritime Powers, so that we may the sooner attain to a general Pacification, his said Imperial and Catholick Majesty does not hesitate to declare further, if it be necessary, That, as for the two Points which relate immediately to him, he is

ready to secure the Freedom of Commerce in the Port of Leghorn, in the most extensive, the strongest, and most solemn Manner in the World; so that as for this Point, there remains nothing more to be desired for the entire Liberty of Commerce. And that moreover, persuaded as he is of the laudable Intentions of the Maritime Powers, to endeavour to reconcile, as far as in them lies, the present Differences, and thereby to procure a lasting Peace in Europe; his Imperial Majesty looks upon the Plan of Accommodation, joined with the Resolution of the States-General above-mention'd, as serving for a Basis upon which a Negotiation may forthwith be begun; and consequently, on his Part, he is not against those Powers proposing the shortest Method of Working on a formal Treaty, wherein all those Differences may be made up, and finally adjusted, according to the Intention above-mention'd, for restoring immediately, and upon a lasting Foot, the Peace and Tranquility of Europe. Provided, nevertheless, that the present Declaration made in his Imperial and Catholick Majesty's Name, shall not be alledged to his Prejudice hereafter, in Case his pacifick Offers be not accepted at the same Time, or in two Months at farthest, by the Powers in War with him.

The next Day being the 8th of May, Monsr. Fenelon, the French Embassador at the Hague, desired a Set Conference with their High Mightinesses Committee for foreign Affairs, which being fix'd according, his Excellency spoke to them to the following Effect:

His Most Christian Majesty having maturely examin'd the Articles of the Plan of Peace, and having caused Conferences to be holden upon that Subject with his Allies, he finds, as well as the Kings of Spain and Sardinia, that None of the Articles thereof is acceptable; and therefore his Most Christian Majesty is oblig'd to declare, that he rejects it entirely. However, he declares, that he is still in Dispositions advantageous for Peace, provided it be stipulated on reasonable Conditions; and that he should be very well pleased, if the Mediators would draw up a new Plan of Accommodation, and leave out every Article contain'd in the former.

The two following Days the Ministers of Spain and Sardinia had each a Conference in like Manner, wherein they declar'd, That the Kings their Masters (*pedibus manibusque ibant in Sententiam Regis Christianissimi*) acquiesced

quiesced with all that the Marquess *de Fenelon* had said. This was the Fate of our so much boasted pacifick Plan, of the Success of which such great hopes had been given to both Houses of Parliament; and in Opposition to it, the following Plan was handed about in *Paris*, but we do not hear that it was drawn up by Authority, or that it has been so much as proposed to any of the Powers concern'd; however, it pleased the People of *France*, and gives the Advocates for the Ministers of State in that Kingdom, a Pretence to extol their Wisdom, and their Inclination for Peace, if it could be obtained upon safe and honourable Terms: The Plan is as follows, viz.

IN relation to *Poland*; King *Stanislaus* is to be acknowledged King of *Poland* by all the Powers of *Europe*, and Crown'd anew: The Elector of *Saxony* to preserve the Title of King: The Prince Electoral, his Son, after the Death of King *Stanislaus*, to be King of *Poland*, to have the Succession settled in his Family, and to marry the eldest Princess of *France*: The Dutchy of *Courland* to be given to the *Czarina*, to induce her to accept this Plan. As to the Empire and the hereditary Dominions; the Pragmatick Sanction to be guaranty'd by all the Powers of *Europe*; The Duke of *Lorraine* to marry the eldest Archduchess, to be declar'd King of the *Romans*, and to yield his Country to *France*; in lieu of which, Part of the *Milaneze*, the *Cremoneze*, and the *Mantuan*, to be erected into a 10th Electorate, and settled upon the House of *Lorraine* for ever. Don *Carlos* to marry the second Archduchess, to be own'd for King of the two *Sicilies*, and to have *Tuscany* and the Island of *Sardinia*, and to renounce all Pretensions which this Marriage might give him to the other hereditary Countries of the Empire. The King of *Sardinia* to be acknowledged King of *Lombardy*, and to have *Parma*, *Placentia*, and some Part of the *Milaneze*, in lieu of his Island of *Sardinia*. The Elector of *Bavaria* to be Earl of *Flanders*; to renounce all his Pretensions to the Emperor's hereditary Estates; and his Son to marry the second Princess of *France*. A small Part of *Savoy* to be added to *France*. And *Luxembourg* to be dismantled.

There are six private Articles, four of which, as 'tis assured, relate to the Northern Powers.

Upon

Upon this Behaviour of the Allies, and the uncivil Manner in which they rejected the Pacifick Plan, which the King of *Great Britain* and the States General did not in the least doubt but would meet with a favourable Reception every where, his Excellency *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; his Majesty's Ambassador at the *Hague*, presented, in his Master's Name, a very smart Memorial to their High Mightinesses the States General, in Substance as follows, viz.

THE States General cannot but be perfectly convinced of the firm and unalterable Resolution the King my Master is in, to act on all Occasions in perfect Concert with them, after the many Proofs he has given of it, since the Beginning of the present War: 'Tis known with what Readiness his Majesty concurred with their High Mightinesses, in the Proposal made immediately upon that Crisis, to offer jointly their good Offices with the Powers at War; and 'tis known likewise, with what Zeal he took every Step which could contribute effectually to make those good Offices accepted. In Consequence of this Acceptation, his Majesty agreed with their High Mightinesses upon a Plan proper to serve as a Basis for a general Pacification, and to recommend it to the Powers interested in it, with the strongest Instances. There was Room to hope this Plan would have had the desired Effect; but, contrary to the reasonable Expectation of his Majesty and their High Mightinesses, and after a Delay of more than two Months, in a Crisis the most delicate that could be, it has been absolutely rejected by the three ally'd Crowns; and the Armistice proposed at the same Time, and upon which the Maritime Powers in a particular Manner insisted, was loaded with Restrictions and Difficulties of such long Discussion, that no Hopes could be conceived of regulating it in Time, to prevent the Operations of this Campaign. On the other Hand, the Acquiescence of the Emperor, to the Offer of the said Plan of Accommodation, is still imperfect.

All these melancholy Circumstances confirm his Majesty more and more in the firm Persuasion he has always had, that a uniform Conduct in him and this Republick is absolutely necessary; and his Majesty desires, above all Things, to contribute, with his whole Power, to the Continuance of an Union and Harmony so essential to the two Estates: His Majesty therefore thinks himself indispensably

indispensibly obliged to represent to their High Mightinesses, with all the Friendship and Zeal imaginable; that, notwithstanding all the Steps above mentioned, no Hope remains of being able to stop in Time, the Hostilities between the Powers at War; but on the contrary, that there is the greatest Room to believe, that the Issue of the Campaign may have Consequences very prejudicial to the Interests of his Majesty and their High Mightinesses, even so far as to put their own Security in Danger, by the Destruction of the Ballance of Power in Europe, on which 'tis notorious their Safety, as well as their remoter Advantage, depends.

These Considerations convince his Majesty, that it is not only prudent but absolutely necessary, that without Loss of Time their High Mightinesses put themselves into a proper State of Defence, by an *Augmentation of their Forces by Sea and Land*, in Order to be in a Condition to take such Steps as the future Conjunction of Affairs may require, and to concur with the King, who, on his Part, has already done what he recommends at this Time to their High Mightinesses with so much Zeal, in the Preparations he has made to defend his Kingdoms from the Dangers which the present War threatens, Step by Step, to the Liberties of his Subjects, and those of their High Mightinesses, and to their Religion and Properties, and every Thing that's valuable.

'Tis for this Reason, the under-mention'd Ambassador has Orders from the King his Master, to pray their High Mightinesses to consider, if a Resolution, so necessary on their Part, ought not to be taken previously, and to precede all other Deliberations, with Respect to the Conduct which the Maritime Powers shall observe hereafter; and his Majesty has order'd his said Ambassador to answer in his Name, and to assure their High Mightinesses, in the most solemn Manner, that if these Representations have the Success he so ardently hopes and desires, their High Mightinesses, in Consequence, shall find his Majesty always dispos'd to concert most cordially with them, the future Measures, which the Situation of Affairs in Europe, and their mutual Interest may require, to put an End to the present Troubles.

Upon this Memorial the States General resolv'd, That in the first Place, it was adviseable to make some further Trial of the Kings in Alliance, to engage them to return a more acceptable Answer: Upon which, the Conferences

ferences were renew'd with the Ministers of the ally'd Crowns, and Couriers were dispatched to the respective Courts, with the Result of these Conferences; but it is probable we may not hear of any Answer 'till toward the End of the Campaign; and, in the mean Time, the Dutch will have a good Excuse for not putting their Country to the Expence of new Armaments.

As if the Fate of our favourite Plan had not given us Mortification enough already, and as if the Allies were resolved to put our Patience and good Humour to the Stretch, we have from good Hands, that the French King lately expressed himself in the following Manner to Minister from Great Britain:

' Nothing interests me in the present War so much as Poland; my Honour is highly concern'd in it: It's in different to England what Prince reigns there; having no Interest therein: The Conquests which my Allies have made in Italy is more immediately their Concern than mine; as soon as they shall be satisfy'd about them, I shall be content: But in the mean Time, I will do my utmost Endeavour in Germany to weaken my Enemies. I have already declared, that I would not keep Possession of any of the Places that I should take; England may be assur'd of it from the Promise I have made her: She would have given me infinite Satisfaction in her Mediation, if she had not at the same Time arm'd herself; but I would have her know, that no Power in Europe shall give Law to me. And this you may communicate to your Master.

Nothing like an Accommodation appears in the Tenor of this Answer; and altogether as little in the Marquess of Fenelon's Declaration, a few Days ago, to their High Mightinesses Deputies at the Hague: 'That his Most Christian Majesty could not for ever take upon himself the Affairs which concern equally his Allies; and that the Mediating Powers must, for the future, apply themselves severally to all the three Courts.' This Declaration must necessarily render all future Negotiations very difficult and slow, and in that Condition we now leave them.

Other Articles relating to Great Britain, and the Debates in Parliament, shall be inserted in our next.

T H E

*Historical Register.******
NUMBER LXXX.
*****

AVING been pretty ample in our last Number, concerning our Transactions and Negotiations abroad, for restoring the general Tranquility of *Europe*, we now think it adviseable to begin this with the Debates and Proceedings of the first Session of the present Parlia-

ment, which a Crowd of other Matter, necessary to set the Motives to this War in their proper Light, hath hitherto hinder'd us from taking Notice of. The Affair between *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the Emperor's Memorials were certainly well worth our Reader's Attention, but what, in our Opinion, seemed to demand it most, was that very extraordinary Project called a Plan for a general Pacification; we therefore inserted it in our last; we also shew'd the Scorn and Insolence with which it was treated by the House of *Bourbon*, and the King of *Sardinia*; and we shall now proceed to what has been doing at home; in which Enquiry, Preference is always to be given to what has passed in a Place which *Britons* are to look upon as the Sanctuary of their Liberties.

G R E A T B R I T A I N.

Debates and Proceedings in the first Session of the present Parliament.

HIS Majesty having approved the Speaker, and made a most gracious Speech on the 23d of *January* last, which is inserted in our *Register*, No. 78. Pag. 147, the
I i Commons

Commons withdrew to their House, and his Majesty being also retired, the Lords immediately took the Speech into their Consideration, and the same being read, Motion was made, That a dutiful Address should be presented by that House to his Majesty, to return his Majesty their unfeigned Thanks for his most gracious Speech from the Throne; to acknowledge his Majesty's Care for the true Interest of his People, in preventing their being unnecessarily engaged in the present War, and in concerting Measures with the States General for restoring the publick Tranquility; to declare their Satisfaction in observing, that the good Offices of his Majesty and the States General had been accepted by all Parties engaged in War; and that it was to be ascribed only to his Majesty's uncommon Vigilance for the Welfare of his People, and the Repose of *Christendom*; that the salutary Work he was engaged in, was advanced to such a Degree, that a Plan might be shortly offered to the Consideration of the Parties concerned, as a Basis for a general Treaty: To assure his Majesty, that they would not be amused by any Hopes whatsoever, so far as to leave the Security of his Majesty and his Kingdoms exposed to real Dangers; and that their Endeavours should never be wanting to disappoint the vain Expectations of those who might imagine Advantages to themselves from such Methods: To declare, that they trusted in the good Harmony which subsisted between his Majesty and the States General; and to assure his Majesty, that they would support him in all such Measures as might be necessary for securing the Blessings of Peace and Tranquility, or for putting this Nation in a Condition to act that Part, which might be incumbent on *Great Britain* to undertake: To acknowledge the Felicity they enjoyed in his Majesty's having always esteemed the Interest of Sovereign and Subject as mutual and inseparable, and having made the due Execution and Observance of the Laws the Rule of his Government; and to assure his Majesty, that they were determined to convince the World, by a steady Course of Loyalty, that they considered the Maintenance of their Religion and Liberties, as being involved in the Support of his Majesty's Person and Government, and in the Preservation of the Protestant Succession in his Royal House; and that it was their unalterable Purpose to transmit these invaluable Blessings to Posterity.

This Motion was introduced with Speeches, the Substance of which we shall give as follows.

My Lords,

AS this Nation was no way concerned in the Transactions which were declared to be the principal Causes and Motives of the present War in *Europe*, I cannot but admire the Wisdom of his Majesty's Conduct, in preventing this Nation's being any way engaged in it; but when the Sword is once drawn, it is impossible to foretel how far it may be carry'd, or when it will put up. The Parties engaged may, as yet, be moderate in their Expectations, as well as their Demands; but Success of either Side may elate the Minds of the Victors, and may make them resolve to carry their Conquests much farther than they at the Beginning really intended, and farther than is consistent with the Ballance of Power, or the Liberties of *Europe*; and therefore, tho' this Nation was at first no way concerned with the Motives or Causes of the War, yet it may at last come to be very deeply concerned in the Event: For this Reason it became necessary, as soon as the War broke out, to put this Nation not only in a proper Posture of Defence, but in a Condition to act with Vigour, in Case of Need; and in this the Wisdom of his Majesty's Councils is not less conspicuous, than in the Care he has taken not to engage us too hastily in the War.

The most ambitious Designs, my Lords, may sometimes be conceal'd under the most plausible Pretences; but to penetrate into the most secret Springs, and to discover the real Views of the Parties concerned, there was no Method more certain or more effectual than that which his Majesty has taken: To make an Offer of his good Offices, for composing the present unhappy Differences of *Europe*; and, in Pursuance of the Acceptation of his good Offices, to propose such a Plan of Peace as may be consistent, as much as possible, with the Honour and Interest of all the Parties engaged in War, is a certain and an infallible Way to discover, whether any of them have secret Views, which are inconsistent with the general Interest of *Europe*; and if any such Views should be discovered, then will it be proper and necessary for his Majesty, and the other Princes and States of *Europe*, to join together, and concert such Measures as

may defeat those ambitious Views, wherever they may be found lurking and concealed.

This was the most prudent and the most effectual Measure which his Majesty could pursue; and, in the Pursuit of this Measure, he has taken all those Steps which the most consummate Wisdom could direct: He has taken Care that neither of the Parties concerned should have the least Reason to suspect his being any Way partial in the Affair; and he has in every Thing acted in concert with the States General of the United Provinces, who are our most natural Allies, and who are under the same Engagements with him. By this Concert, if there be any Prince or State in *Europe*, that entertains an ambitious View of Conquest, they will be made to see, that as soon as their Views are discovered, they must expect to be attacked by the united Force of *Great Britain* and *Holland*.; and there is no more effectual Way of preserving the Peace of *Europe*, than that of depriving the Ambitious of all Hopes of Success, in any of the Projects they may form against the Liberties of the Dominions of their Neighbours.

To make this Measure still more effectual, it was necessary, not only to provide for our Defence at Home, but to arm ourselves with Alliances abroad, and to engage as many of the Princes and States of *Europe*, not already concerned in the War, as we could, in the same salutary Measures: For this Reason we cannot but applaud his Majesty's Conduct, in having concluded a Treaty with the King of *Denmark*; by which, and by the other Treaties which his Majesty may hereafter conclude, it is not to be doubted, but that he will be enabled to put a Stop to the victorious Arms of either of the Parties engaged in War, in Case they should attempt to carry their Successes and Conquests further than may be consistent with the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.

At the same Time, *my Lords*, we cannot but admire his Majesty's Prudence and Moderation, in the Use he has made of that Power which was so reasonably granted to him by the last Session of last Parliament, with Respect to the Additions he has been pleased to make to the Naval or Land Forces of this Kingdom: The Additions made to either are but very inconsiderable; the principal Expence has been occasioned by making Additions to our Naval Force, which Expence is always the least burthensome, and the most useful to this Nation; and the small Addition that has been made to our Land Forces,

Forces, has been made in that Way which is most convenient to the Subject, and least expensive to the Publick: Yet this moderate Use of that Power, this small additional Expence which the Nation has been put to, joined with the prudent Measures which his Majesty has pursu'd abroad, has already, we see, produced extraordinary Effects. It has already produced an Acceptation of his Majesty's good Offices, for composing the Differences now subsisting in *Europe*; and it is not to be doubted, but that a Continuance of the same vigorous Measures, will produce a general Agreement to that Plan of Peace which his Majesty, in Conjunction with his Allies, is to propose to the Parties engaged in the present War.

As these Measures, and the good Effects of them, have proceeded from that Concord and Confidence which have hitherto subsisted between his Majesty and his Parliament, so the good Effects which we are yet to expect from them, must entirely depend upon the Powers at War being convinced, that the same Concord and Confidence do still subsist; and therefore I shall take the Liberty to move your Lordships, That, &c. (as before mentioned.)

To this Motion an Amendment was proposed, That all the intermediate Paragraphs between the first and the last should be left out, and that the Motion should stand thus:

' To return his Majesty their unfeigned Thanks for his most gracious Speech from the Throne; and to acknowledge the Felicity they enjoyed in his Majesty's having always esteemed the Interest of Sovereign and Subject as mutual and inseparable, and having made the due Execution and Observance of the Laws the Rule of his Government; and to assure his Majesty, that they were determined to convince the World, by a steady Course of Loyalty, that they consider'd the Maintenance of their Religion and Liberties as being involved in the Support of his Majesty's Person and Government, and in the Preservation of the Protestant Succession in his Royal House; and that it was their unalterable Purpose to transmit these invaluable Blessings to Posterity.

The

The Argument for this Amendment was to the Effect as follows :

My Lords,

THE Members of this House, who are in the same Situation with me, must labour under a very great Disadvantage, when they are to give their Sentiments of what is proposed upon any such Occasion as the present. As we know nothing of his Majesty's Speech 'till we hear it from the Throne, nor any Thing of the Motion intended to be made 'till we hear it in this House, it cannot be supposed that we can speak so exactly or methodically to it as otherwise we might. If I had the Motion in my Hand, I could exactly point out the Paragraphs I am to speak to ; but as I have not, I hope your Lordships will allow me to speak from the Notes I have taken of it ; and if I have mistaken any of the Paragraphs, I hope those Lords, who are better acquainted with it than I am, will endeavour to set me right. I shall readily admit, that the Motion made by the noble Duke, has been drawn up with a great deal of Zeal and Prudence ; and I believe it has been concerted with as much Care and Caution as was consistent with the Design.

The first Paragraph, *my Lords*, is, in my Opinion, a very proper Return from this House to his Majesty's Speech from the Throne ; and the last Paragraph is a Declaration of our Zeal and Affection for his Majesty and his illustrious Family, which I think proper upon all Occasions, and even necessary at the Beginning of a new Parliament, especially at such a Conjunction as the present : These two Paragraphs therefore will, I am convinced, appear highly reasonable to every Lord in this House ; but as for all the intermediate Paragraphs, it is my Opinion, that they descend too much into Particulars for this House to agree to, without some further Information than we have as yet before us.

I hope, *my Lords*, our Affairs are in the Condition represented to us in his Majesty's Speech ; but as I shall always have a great Regard for the Honour and Dignity of Parliament, and, as Speeches from the Throne have always, in the Language of this House, been supposed to be Speeches from the Ministers, therefore I cannot think it consistent with the Dignity of this House to take Things so much upon Trust, as to depend entirely upon

upon what they may be pleased, from Time to Time to tell us. It was the ancient and the right Method of Parliament to keep, as much as possible, to Generals upon such Occasions; to express their Affection for the King, and their Zeal for the Service of the Crown, but to avoid entering into any Thing that might look like an Approbation of the Measures pursued by the Ministers: With Regard to the Proceedings in this House, the descending into Particulars does not, 'tis true, preclude us from entering into future Enquiries, or from censuring what may be found to be wrong upon any such Enquiry: But without Doors it is otherwise; for People who are not perfectly acquainted with our Methods of proceeding, which is the greatest Part of Mankind, look upon the Address of this House as the real Sense of the House, with Respect to every particular Measure mentioned in that Address; and therefore such a general Approbation of all the Measures that have been pursued, and the declaring our Satisfaction with so many Particulars, may have very bad Effects, and will bring this House into Contempt with the generality of Mankind, if we should afterwards censure, and perhaps punish a Minister for those very Measures, which we had before so fully and so particularly approved.

Speeches from the Throne have always been look'd upon, not only in Parliament, but even without Doors, as Speeches drawn up by the Ministers; and the Design of Addresses from each House of Parliament, by Way of Answer or Return to such Speeches, has always been, to testify to the World the Affection of the Parliament towards the King, and their Resolutions to support him in all such Measures as they shall approve of; but if we should one fall into the Way of answering the Speech Paragraph by Paragraph, and approving, without either Information or Enquiry of every Thing which the Ministers have been pleased to mention in that Speech, People will then begin to think, that the Address of this House was drawn up by the Ministers as well as the Speech; in which Case the Design of such Addresses will be entirely frustrated, they will no Way affect either our Friends or our Enemies: In short, they will become *Vox & preterea nihil*.

With respect to the Negotiations now carrying on, for restoring the Tranquility of Europe, I hope they will be attended with all the Success which his Majesty or the Nation can desire; but from our past Negotiations, I cannot

cannot think, my Lords, we have any Reason blindly to approve of the present. This Nation has, within these few Years, been engaged in a great Multiplicity of different Negotiations, all of them expensive, and some of them such as might have been attended with dangerous Consequences: They were all intended, as we are told, to preserve the Peace of *Europe*, and establish the publick Tranquillity; but if that was the real and true Design, no one of them proved effectual for the Purpose; the last Treaty always wanted a new one to carry it into Execution; and thus we have been a botching and piecing up one Treaty with another for several Years. The Peace of *Europe*, and the Balance of Power, was to have been fully established by the Treaty of *Hanover*; but we found it would not do, and therefore that Treaty was pieced up with the Treaty of *Seville*: This, again, we found would not do; altho' we had then four to one, we found it impracticable, or at least dangerous to carry it into Execution, and therefore we were obliged to conclude the Treaty of *Vienna*: By this the Treaty of *Seville* was fully executed, indeed, of our Side; but how this last Treaty is to be executed I do not know; for now it appears, that, to render it effectual, some new Treaty is wanting, at least as much as any of the former, Thus we have been setting up a Sort of Paper Credit in Treaties and Negotiations; and we have, I am afraid, extended it already further than our Fund will be able to answer.

Whether this Nation ought to have engaged in the War, is a Question which it is impossible for your Lordships at present to determine, because the Treaty of *Vienna* has never been laid before this House; and if from that Treaty, when laid before us, it should appear, that we were in Honour obliged to engage in the War, our agreeing now to the second Paragraph of the Motion would no Way contribute to the Credit of this House: With respect to that Treaty, the *Dutch* and we are upon a very different Footing: By that Treaty we went plumb in at once to the Guaranty of all the *Austrian* Dominions, without Exception or Reserve, at least with Regard to any of the *Christian* Powers; for, with Respect to the *Turks*, I think we shew'd them a little more Regard, by making them an Exception to our Guaranty. The *Dutch*, indeed, agreed likewise to that Treaty; but how did they agree to it, my Lords? It was after long and mature Deliberation, and, as I have been told, under
several

several Restrictions and Limitations; so that with Respect to the concluding of that Treaty, it cannot be said that we acted in Concert with the *Dutch*; and with Respect to the late Transactions, whether we have acted in concert with them I do not know, but I am certain they have not acted in Concert with us; for they concluded a Treaty of Neutrality with *France*, before (I believe) we knew any Thing of the Matter; and, notwithstanding the great Expences we have been at, in augmenting our Forces both by Sea and Land, they have not yet added one Man to their Land Forces, nor one Ship to their Naval, nor have they concluded one expensive Treaty; nay, I do not know if they have been at the Expence even of one Courier, unless it was such as were sent on account of their Treaty of Neutrality. How then, my Lords, can we talk of concerting Measures with the States General, when, from what has as yet been made publick, there appears to have been no other Concert between us, than that we have, perhaps, from Time to Time, acquainted them with the Measures we were to take, and the Expences we were to put ourselves to.

As for the Acceptation of our good Offices, it was very natural, both for the States-General and us, since we were not engaged in the War, to offer our good Offices for restoring the Peace; this was the least that either of us could do, and it was natural for all the Powers engaged in War to accept of that Offer; it was the least that either of them could do in Return; because every one of them will certainly pretend that they are heartily inclined towards Peace, and are ready to agree to any reasonable Terms; but when those Terms come to be settled, I believe, the Side that appears to be the strongest, will have the most Reason, and will insist upon the others agreeing to such Terms as they may be pleased to call reasonable; and therefore I do not think it consistent with the Dignity of this House, to express our Satisfaction in so solemn a Manner, upon our good Offices having been only accepted: And much less can I agree to our expressing, in such a particular Manner, our Satisfaction at a Plan's being so far advanced that it will be soon ready to be offer'd to the Parties concern'd: If this Plan had not only been offer'd, but actually approved by all the Parties concerned, it would then have been incumbent upon us to have expressed our Satisfaction with so much Vigilance and Wisdom: But is the simple drawing up of a Plan a Matter of Moment, worthy of the Notice of this

K k

House?

House? Is it not in every Man's Power, at least every Man that can write, to draw up any Plan he pleases? And shall we, *my Lords*, so solemnly take Notice of what might have been done by any Writing-Clerk in *Europe*? I appeal to every one of your Lordships, if this is not exposing the Proceedings of this House to the utmost Contempt; and if, upon the publishing of that Plan, it should appear to be no very extraordinary one, what will the World then say of these our anticipated Encomiums.

His Majesty, in his Speech, has been pleased to tell us, that he has concluded a Treaty with *Denmark*, which is, it seems, to be laid before the other House; and the Reason given for so doing is, because it is to be attended with some Expence; but this Treaty we have neither seen, nor is it so much as promised to be laid before us, and therefore it is impossible to say any Thing for it or against it. Whether this Treaty was concluded in concert with the *Dutch*, I do not know, but it does not appear that they are to contribute any Thing to the Charge of it; and even without seeing the Treaty I may take Notice, that if the Ballance of Power in *Europe* be in any Danger, the King of *Denmark* is as much concerned in its Preservation as we are; and by an express Treaty between the Emperor and him, he is, as much as we are, engaged to guaranty his Imperial Majesty's Dominions; so that by this new Treaty with us, the King of *Denmark* has laid himself under no Obligations that I can hear of, but what he was before engaged in, both by his own Interest, and by his Treaties with the Emperor; and yet we are, it seems, to pay him a large annual Subsidy: However, *my Lords*, as these Matters will come in more properly to be consider'd when the Treaty is laid before us, I shall at present take no further Notice of them, but only to observe, that by approving of all Measures in general, as is proposed by this Motion, we approve of this Treaty, before we have either seen it, or know any Thing about it.

If we are no Way concerned in the present War, if we have given no reasonable Cause of Offence to any of the Powers of *Europe*, what Occasion is there for putting any threatening Words into our Address? To assure his Majesty, that we will be ready to support him in such Measures as may be incumbent on us to undertake, is certainly a threatening Way of expressing ourselves, and will probably be taken as such by some of the Powers

now engaged in War. I wish, *my Lords*, we were in a better Condition than we are; I wish the Nation were free from that heavy Load of Debts under which it groans at present; but while we are oppressed with such a Load of Debts, and such a Number of Taxes, all mortgaged and pre-engaged, is this Nation in a Condition to threaten, or can we pretend to frighten the Powers of Europe? We may be able, we must defend ourselves when attacked; but surely we ought not to draw an Attack or an Insult upon ourselves, by threatening others with what we will do, at a Time when none of our Neighbours have a Design to disturb us, at least in so far as we have yet been told by those who ought to acquaint us, in Case they suspect we are in any Danger.

This Paragraph, *my Lords*, is very inconsistent with the former Part of the Motion: By the second Paragraph we are to acknowledge his Majesty's Care for the true Interest of his People, in preventing their being unnecessarily engaged in a War; and, by this Paragraph, we are to make Use of such menacing Words as may engage his Majesty in a War whether he will or no, and whether it be the Interest of his People or not. This, I say, appears to me altogether inconsistent, and therefore, if these two Paragraphs stand Part of the Motion, I hope the latter will be a little soften'd; but I have, I think, shewn sufficient Reasons for leaving them and all the intermediate Paragraphs out; for which Reason I shall conclude with moving for this Amendment, That, &c. (as before mentioned.)

The Answer made to this Argument was in Substance thus:

My Lords,

THE noble Lord, who proposed the Amendment to the Motion now before us, set out with such an Eulogium upon it, that I imagined he was to agree with it in every particular; and I began to indulge myself with the Hopes of having the Satisfaction to find, that his Lordship's Opinion was the same with mine. I was glad to hear his Lordship acknowledge, that the Motion had been drawn up with a great deal of Zeal, a great deal of Prudence, and a great deal of Caution: In this I agree with him; for I think the Motion made to us by the noble Duke, is so prudently and so cautiously worded, that I am surpris'd to hear the least Objection made to it.

If by any such Address, *my Lords*, this House were to be precluded from all future Enquiries; nay, if there were any Words in the Address now proposed, which might be interpreted as an express Approbation of any particular Measure that has been pursued, I should think there might be Reason for the Amendment proposed; but as no such Thing can be presumed from any Part of the Motion made to us, I cannot find the least Reason for such a thorough Reformation as what is proposed by the Amendment. I have as great a Regard for the Honour and Dignity of Parliament as any Lord in this House; but I likewise have a great Regard for the Duty and Respect we owe to the King; and, after his Majesty has been graciously pleased, in his Speech, to give us so full an Account of his Conduct, I must leave it to your Lordships to consider, how odd, how disrespectful it would look in us, to take no Manner of Notice in our Answer, of any one Thing he has told us, but only in general to thank him for his Speech from the Throne, and to declare what I hope no Man has any just Reason to doubt of. Would not People generally from thence conclude, that we regarded very little what his Majesty had told us, and would not his Enemies from thence imagine, that his Parliament put no Confidence in him? This is what the noble Duke was aware of; and therefore, to shew our Respect to his Majesty, he has touched generally upon every Thing that his Majesty has been pleased to mention in his Speech; but, at the same Time, his Motion is conceived in such Terms as cannot any Way interfere with the Honour and Dignity of this House, or with any of our future Proceedings.

As for our former Treaties and Negotiations, it is not my Business, at present, to vindicate all or any of them; but as they have been taken Notice of by other Lords in this Debate, I hope your Lordships will indulge me with Leave to make some few Observations upon them. In treating and negotiating with foreign Powers, I do not know that any general Rules can be established; for whatever Rules we may prescribe to ourselves, we can prescribe none to the foreign Courts we have to do with; and therefore we must always direct our Measures according to the Humours we find them in, and according to the various Incidents that occur. This was the Case with Respect to the Treaty of *Hanover*: A dangerous League had been formed against the Honour, the Trade, and

and the Possessions of this Nation : These Designs we had given no Occasion to by any false Step, by any Provocation, or by any Mismanagement on our Parts ; but after we found they were actually formed, it became necessary for us to concert Measures for preventing their Execution ; and that was effectually done by the Treaty of *Hanover*. This was all that was or could be intended by that Treaty, and every one knows how effectual it proved for the Purpose it was designed : We thereby disappointed all the warlike Projects of *Spain* against this Nation ; and after we had convinced them, that they could get no Advantage by being at enmity with us, then, and not till then, was it a Time to think of restoring a good Correspondence between the two Nations ; and this was fully effectuated by the Treaty of *Seville*. We had then nothing to do but to make up that Breach, which the Imperial Court had made between us and them, by their entering into the League with *Spain* against us, and by the Treaty of *Vienna*, not only this Breach was made up, but a thorough Reconcilement was established, to all human Appearance, between the Emperor and *Spain* : By this last Treaty, therefore, it must be granted, that the Affairs of *Europe* were put upon just such a Footing as we ought to desire ; and if Treaties since made, or Measures since pursu'd by foreign Courts, have overturn'd or disturbed the Establishment that was then made, surely we are not to be blamed ; for I know of no Treaty we have since concluded, nor any Negotiation we have since carry'd on, except those we have lately been obliged to conclude or carry on, either for preventing the present War, or for restoring the Peace of *Europe* ; and if these last prove as effectual as our former Treaties and Negotiations have done, neither this House, nor the Nation, will have any Reason to find Fault with them.

Now, my Lords, with respect to the several Paragraphs proposed by the Amendment to be left out of the Motion, let us but consider them one after another, and we shall find them all conceived in such general Terms, that there can be no good Reason assigned for leaving any of them out ; and the Respect we owe to his Majesty must be a strong Argument in Favour of every one of them ; because we are certainly in Duty, nay, in common Decency, bound to take some Sort of Notice of every Thing he has mentioned in his Speech. By the first, we only acknowledge his Majesty's Care, in preventing our being unnecessarily

unnecessarily engaged in the War. Do we by this, *my Lords*, either affirm or deny our being engaged, by the Treaty of *Vienna*, or by any other Treaty, to take a Share in the War? Have we then any Occasion to consult the Treaty of *Vienna*, before we agree to the making of this Return to his Majesty's Speech? Suppose it should afterwards appear that we were by the Treaty of *Vienna*, or otherwise, engaged to have joined in the War at the very Beginning, will what is now proposed preclude our Enquiry into that Affair, or will any Censure we can pass upon those who advised the contrary, shew any Inconsistency in the Proceedings of this House? And as to our Acknowledgments to his Majesty, in Relation to his having concerted Measures with the *Dutch*, for restoring the publick Tranquility; this too is conceived in such general Terms, that we neither affirm nor deny his having done so; therefore we are left at full Liberty to consider this Affair likewise hereafter, and to come to such Resolutions as may then appear just and reasonable.

As this Paragraph of the Address proposed, is conceived in such general Terms, I do not think it at all necessary for us at present to enquire, how far we are engaged by the Treaty of *Vienna*, or how far his Majesty and the States-General have proceeded in Concert together; but allow me, *my Lords*, to say something in Answer to what has been alledged upon both these Heads. With Regard to our Engagements by the Treaty of *Vienna*, 'tis true, the Emperor has demanded Succours from us, and insists that we are, by that Treaty, obliged to furnish them; but as this War was occasioned by the Affairs of *Poland*, in which we had no Concern, it is certain we are no way obliged, by that Treaty, or any other I know of, to furnish any Succours, either to him, or to any other Power now engaged in the War. Then, as to the Concert between the *Dutch* and us, though the Forms of their Government did not allow them to join with us at first in the Treaty of *Vienna*, yet the Negotiation antecedent to that Treaty must certainly have been carry'd on in Concert with them, because they are named as principal contracting Parties in the Treaty; and they acceded to it as soon as the necessary Forms of their Government would admit. Their Accession may have been, for what I know, clogged with several Restrictions and Limitations; but whatever these Restrictions or Limitations were, it is certain that the Emperor, in the present Conjuncture, looks upon them to be as much obliged

obliged as we are to furnish him with the stipulated Succours, and has accordingly made as peremptory Demands for these Succours upon the *Dutch*, as he has made upon us.

The Treaty of Neutrality has likewise been mention'd, as concluded by the *Dutch*, without any Concert with us. Whether the Design of that Treaty was communicated to this Court, I shall not take upon me to determine; but as neither the *Dutch* nor we had any Concern in the War at the Beginning, or can hereafter be any Way concerned in the War, unless that Barrier should be attacked, or that either of the Parties engaged, should attempt to carry their Conquests so far, as to endanger the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, surely their concluding a Treaty of Neutrality for that Barrier could no Way concern us, nor can it be looked on as any Way inconsistent with that Concert which ought to be kept up between us, especially considering, that even by that Treaty they reserve to themselves a Liberty of fulfilling all their Engagements to the Emperor, and would, notwithstanding that Treaty, be at full Liberty to engage in the War, if either Party should, under Pretence of what has happen'd in *Poland*, attempt to overturn the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.

The *Dutch*, 'tis true, have not as yet made any Augmentation of their Forces, either by Sea or Land; but we may easily find a Reason for it, if we will but recollect the great Reduction they had actually resolved to make of their Land Forces, just before the present War broke out. This Reduction they have ever since suspended, on Account of the War, and for no other Reason; and therefore it is to be looked on as an Augmentation made in concert with us, for rendering more effectual those Measures we may jointly take for restoring the publick Tranquility, and establishing the Ballance of Power. From all which, I think it is evident, that the Concert between the *Dutch* and us, which is so necessary for both our Interests, has been exactly observed by both, in every Measure in which we had a joint Concern.

The next Paragraph propos'd to be left out, is that by which we declare our Satisfaction in observing, that his Majesty's good Offices have been accepted of; and that a Plan of Peace may be shortly offer'd to the Parties concerned: As his Majesty has, in his Speech, been pleas'd to mention both these Particulars to us, it would, in

in my Opinion, be very disrespectful in us not to say one Word of either in our Address, by Way of Return to his Majesty's Speech ; and the noble Duke has proposed to mention them in such a general Manner, that I wonder to hear it found fault with. It is not to be question'd, but that all the Parties engaged in War will declare, they are ready to accept of reasonable Terms ; such Declarations are not, indeed, of any great Consequence ; but the Acceptation of good Offices is a great deal more ; it is in some Manner the accepting of a Mediation, and submitting as it were to the Arbitration of a third Party. Declarations may, perhaps, be easily obtain'd, and may be of no Effect when obtained ; but the Acceptation of a Mediation, or of good Offices, is not so easily obtain'd ; we know that they have been often refused, and the accepting of them always shews a great Deference and Respect to the Power whose good Offices are accepted of ; and therefore it is no way beneath the Dignity of this House, to declare our Satisfaction in observing, that his Majesty's good Offices have been accepted.

As to the Plan to be offered to the Consideration of the Parties concerned, if, by what is proposed, we were to declare our Approbation of that Plan, there would be some Reason for the Objection made ; but as we are to declare nothing in Relation to the Plan itself, and as we must presume that no Plan will be offered by his Majesty, but such a one as he thinks all Parties concerned ought to accept, the acknowledging his Majesty's Vigilance for the Repose of *Christendom*, in that Respect, cannot surely be any way inconsistent with the Dignity of this House, nor can it be attended with any bad Consequences ; for if this House should afterwards find Fault with the Plan offered, and should resolve to censure those who advised it, there is nothing in the Motion now before us, that can any way obstruct or prevent such a Proceeding.

The last Paragraph found Fault with, is said to be a threatening Paragraph ; and we have been told, that the Nation is not now in a Condition to threaten. Upon this, *my Lords*, I shall observe in general, that if the Nation be in no Condition to threaten, we are the more obliged to his Majesty for the Care he has taken to prevent our being unnecessarily engaged in the present War. But I cannot agree with the noble Lord in thinking that there is a Threat, or any Thing like a Threat in this Paragraph ; and if there were, I am very sure it cannot be supposed to be levelled against any but those who may deserve,

deserve, and must expect something more than Threats, let the Nation be in what Condition it will: What is said in this Paragraph cannot be presumed to be levelled against any but those who shall endeavour to amuse us with vain Hopes, in order to bring the Security of his Majesty and his Kingdoms into real Danger, by overturning the Balance of Power in *Europe*: In such a Case, though this Nation might not, perhaps, be directly and immediately attack'd, yet, it is to be hoped, we would not look quietly and cowardly on, 'till it was out of our Power to defend ourselves: It is not to be doubted but his Majesty would, in Time, concert proper Measures for the Security and Preservation of his Crown and Kingdoms; and I hope this House will always be ready to support his Majesty in all his Measures. Therefore, *my Lords*, if there be no Power in *Europe* endeavouring to amuse us with such Hopes, there is nothing in this Paragraph that can be taken as a Threat by any Power in *Europe*; and if there be any such Designs secretly harboured, those who harbour them not only deserve to be threaten'd, but they ought to be attacked as soon as they attempt to put them in Execution.

The late Treaty with *Denmark* is not so much as mention'd in the Motion now made to us, and therefore I cannot see what we have to do with it at present. His Majesty has, indeed, told us, that he has concluded such a Treaty; and he has told the other House, that it is to be laid before them, because it is to be attended with some Expence: This is the only Reason his Majesty can have for laying any Treaty before either House of Parliament, before it be called for by the House; and as that Expence is to be first considered by the other House, therefore his Majesty told them, that he had ordered the Treaty to be laid before them; but if any of your Lordships has a mind to move for that Treaty's being laid before this House, I shall be ready to agree to it, and second the Motion; and 'till it be laid before us, I cannot see how it can properly come under our Consideration. However, I shall, in the mean Time, make this general Remark, that if we should have the Misfortune of being obliged to engage in the War, it must be granted, that it would be very proper to have *Denmark* on our Side, and that therefore it was not only proper but necessary to conclude this Treaty with them; for if this Treaty had not been concluded, every one may judge

L I

what

what Sort of Treaty would have been concluded with that Court.

Thus, *my Lords*, I hope I have shewn, that there is nothing in the Motion made to us by the noble Duke, that is any Way inconsistent with the Honour and Dignity of this House ; that there is nothing but what is necessary for shewing our Duty and Respect to his Majesty ; and therefore I hope your Lordships will be of Opinion with me, that there is no Occasion for the Amendment proposed.

To this it was reply'd in Substance as follows, *viz.*

My Lords,

THE Doctrine now laid down to us, seems to me extremely new, and absolutely inconsistent with the ancient Method of proceeding in Parliament. We are now told, that we shall be wanting in that Respect which is due to his Majesty, if we do not in our Address take some Notice of every Particular mention'd in his Majesty's Speech. This is something very extraordinary : The ancient, and what ought to be the only Design of his Majesty's Speech to his Parliament, at the opening of their Session, was to inform them of his Reasons for calling them together, and of the Demands he had to make upon them ; and to answer every Particular mentioned in his Majesty's Speech, was always hitherto understood to be the Business of the whole Session of Parliament, and not the Business of the first or second Day of that Session. The Addresses of Parliament, by Way of Answer or Return to this Speech, were formerly never any Thing more but a general Acknowledgment of Thanks for the Speech from the Throne, and general Assurances of Loyalty and Fidelity to the King, and of supporting him in whatever should appear to them to be reasonable. The King was so far from expecting to have every Particular answer'd in that Address, and high Compliments made on every Paragraph of his Speech, that happy was our King, of old, if he could but get a proper Answer to each Particular during the whole Session. Our Parliaments were not then so ready to grant, nor had they so much Politeness as to pass any Compliments without a due Consideration, and without being fully convinced of the Truth and Justice of what they were to say : But if this new Doctrine prevails, we shall have Speeches made at the Beginning of each Session,

sion, not with a Design to inform the Parliament of the true State of Affairs, or to acquaint them with the King's Demands, but contriv'd by the Ministers, on purpose to catch at Compliments, and to dazzle the Eyes of the People with Panegyricks bestow'd upon their Measures by both Houses of Parliament.

In the Language of Parliament, *my Lords*, we are not only to take Care not to affirm expressly, or deny what may afterwards appear to be otherwise; but we are to take Care not even to insinuate what may afterwards appear to be false. In this Light let us consider the Motion that has been made to us, and we shall find, that every Paragraph proposed to be left out, bears an Insinuation of a Fact, which may afterwards appear to the whole World to be false; and if it should happen so, I leave to your Lordships to consider, what the World must say of the Honour and good Sense of this House; for surely they cannot approve of both. Lords may say what they will of this House's not being precluded by any Thing in the Address, or prevented from future Enquiries or Censures: It is true, as a House of Parliament, we are not; but I will say, that the passing of such Compliments, as have of late been too usual in our Addresses, is a Sort of forestalling the Opinions of many Lords in this House; for after my having agreed to a Panegyrick, either express or by Insinuation, upon any Measure pursued by the Ministers, I should be sorry to find afterwards that such a Measure deserved Censure; and therefore it is certain, it would be difficult to convince me of it, nay, even after Conviction, I believe human Weakness would make me loth to agree to the putting a publick Mark of Ignominy upon that, which I had formerly agreed to applaud, even by Insinuation.

Having now endeavoured to shew, that our Respect to the King, or the Generality of the Expressions proposed to be made Use of, can be no Argument for our descending into so many Particulars; allow me, *my Lords*, to descend into those Particulars, and examine every one of them separately, by Way of Reply to the Observations the noble Lord has been pleased to make on them; but first let me take some Notice of what the noble Duke said in Relation to our former Treaties and Negotiations. He told us, that in treating with foreign Powers no general Rules could be established: I shall mention only two, which are, That we ought always to observe, and as frequently as possible comply with the Terms of those

Treaties we enter into : And the other general Rule is, That we ought to enter into no Treaties but such as are for the Interest of our native Country. These are two general Rules, which are, by the Nature of Things, established, though I doubt much if they have been always observed. By the Treaty of *Hanover*, we are told, that dangerous Designs against this Nation were prevented ; Designs which had been formed against us by the Treaty of *Vienna*, between the Emperor and *Spain* : But this is a Fact that has always been disputed, and if the Fact was false, I am very sure the Treaty of *Hanover* was very much contrary to the Interest of this Nation : Nay, considering how improbable it is, that the Imperial Court would never enter into the Measures then attributed to them ; or that the Imperial and *Spanish* Courts united together, could conceive Hopes of doing any great Injury to *Britain*, there is some Reason to believe, that the Story was invented by a Court, whose Interest it then was to break, by any Means, the good Correspondence that was, by the Treaty of *Vienna*, established between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, and whose Interest it will always be, to foment Jealousies and Divisions between the Courts of *Vienna*, *Madrid*, and *London*. I will agree with the noble Duke, that the Correspondence between *Spain* and us, which was broke off by the Treaty of *Hanover*, was in some Measure, I will not say altogether, restored by the Treaty of *Seville* ; but I wish he had told us at whose Expence that Correspondence was restored, or what other Honour or Advantage the Nation reaped from that Treaty ; and if, by the Treaty of *Vienna*, a Correspondence was restored between the Emperor and us, I am afraid our Correspondence with *Spain* was, by that new Treaty, a little disturbed, and the Union which now subsists between *France* and *Spain*, was effectually established ; so that upon the whole, I do not see that this Nation has many Advantages to brag of from our late Treaties and Negotiations ; and if the Treaty of *Vienna*, between the Emperor and *Spain*, was not such a Treaty as it was most industriously represented by us to be, I am very certain the Nation has already greatly suffered by the Mistake, and may suffer a great deal more in Time to come.

But now, *my Lords*, to return to the Paragraphs of the Motion, which, by the Amendment, are proposed to be left out. To these I shall speak with the more Freedom, because I do not think his Majesty any way concerned

cerned in the Question. I shall always be ready to join in acknowledging our Duty and Fidelity to the King; but when we are to pass Compliments upon Measures, it is to the Ministers we make these Compliments; and I shall never be for this House's descending so low, as blindly to pass Compliments on them. By the first of these Paragraphs we are to acknowledge the Care of the Ministers in preventing our being unnecessarily engaged in the present War. *My Lords*, If this be not a direct Affirmation, it is as strong an Insinuation as this House can make, that we were no way obliged, either by Treaty or Interest, to engage in the present War; and if, upon Enquiry, it should afterwards come out, that we were from the very Beginning obliged, both by Treaty and Interest, to have engaged in the War, what would the World think of this House, if we should agree to the Address this Day proposed; nay, I must appeal to the Lords that are against me in this Motion, what they would think of themselves for having agreed to such an Address; they would be obliged to acknowledge, at least, that they had been imposed on, and such an Acknowledgment can add nothing to the Character of any Man, much less can it add to the Character of any Lord of Parliament.

If there were then no Manner of Reason to presume, that we were are Way obliged to engage in the present War, we ought not, *my Lords*, to come in blindly to the making of such an Insinuation in our Address: But in the present Case there is some Reason to presume, that we were actually obliged, if not to engage as Principals, at least to engage as Allies and Guarantees. The noble Duke has told us, that the Emperor has not only demanded the Succours stipulated by the Treaty of *Vienna*, but insists upon it, that we ought directly to furnish them. I shall not pretend to say, *my Lords*, that the Imperial Ministers are in the Right, on the contrary, I hope they have no Manner of Reason for the Demand they have made; but as we have neither seen the Treaty of *Vienna*, nor the Reasons alledged by the Imperial Court for the Demand they have made, surely we ought not thus blindly to insinuate, that there is nothing in what they have said upon that Subject.

Now, *my Lords*, let us take the other Side of the Case; let us suppose that we were no Way obliged either in Honour or Interest, to concern ourselves in the present War: In such Case, what would that Minister have deserved,

deserved, that should have advised his Majesty to plunge the Nation into a War, in which we had no Manner of Concern? Would not he have deserved the highest Re-sentment of this House, would not he have deserved the heaviest Vengeance his Country could have brought upon his guilty Head? And shall we, *my Lords*, make a fine Compliment to a Minister for not doing, what? For not doing that for which he ought to have lost his Head on a Scaffold.

I am really surprised, to hear it pretended, that the Treaty of *Vienna* was concluded, or the Negotiation for that Purpose carry'd on, in Concert with the *Dutch*, since it is so well known, that they were so far from being principal contracting Parties, that it was after long Delays, and with much Difficulty, that they acceded to it; and that they did not even at last accede, but under several Restrictions and Limitations, and after having obtained several Additions and Explanations in Favour of their own Country: They, like a wise State, took that Opportunity to have all Disputes with the contracting Powers agreed and settled to their own liking; as they were by that Treaty to do a very great Favour to the Emperor, they took Care to have something in Return, and it were to be wished, that we had follow'd their Example in every Treaty we have lately made. They were, indeed, named in the Treaty of *Vienna* as principal contracting Parties, but how they came to be so I could never yet comprehend; the Imperial Court submitted to it, perhaps, at that Time, because they had a very great Favour to ask, and it was very much their Interest to have the *Dutch* become Parties in that Treaty; but how we came to submit to have any Power named as a principal contracting Party in a Treaty with us, without their being as ready to sign it as we were, I cannot yet comprehend.

As for their not having made that Reduction of their Land Forces, which was proposed before the War broke out, it is very certain they have not even now, a greater Number of Forces than is necessary for defending the extensive Frontiers of their Country, and supporting the many Garrisons they are obliged to keep up; so that if they had made any Reduction, they must have trusted to some of their Neighbours for their Defence; but supposing that they might have safely made that Reduction, their having suspended it cannot be called acting in Concert with us; because we have not only suspended making

king that Reduction in our Land Forces, which we might easily have made, and which we ought to have made if the War had not broke out, but we have made large Additions to our Forces both by Sea and Land; and yet it must be acknowledged, that we are not, by our Situation, so immediately exposed to Danger as the *Dutch* are. From hence, *my Lords*, it is to me evident, that the Concert between the *Dutch* and us, can consist in nothing, but, as has been already said, in our having acquainted the *Dutch* with the Measures we were to take, and the Expences we were to put ourselves to; and such a Concert does not, in my Opinion, deserve a Compliment from this House, not even in the most general Terms that can be thought of.

I must submit to your Lordships, whether the Compliment proposed to be made upon the Acceptation of our good Offices, and upon the Plan of Peace, does not bear a very strong Insinuation, that we think it was reasonable and necessary for us to offer our good Offices, that these our good Offices are accepted of in such a Manner as may give great Hopes of their Success, and that it was proper for us to thrust ourselves so far into other People's Affairs, with which we declare we had no Concern, as to propose a Plan for an Agreement; and considering the profound Ignorance we have been kept in, with Relation to all our late foreign Transactions, I do not see how we can, in Honour, pretend to make any such Insinuations. It is an old Observation, *my Lords*, that Arbiters often draw upon themselves the Resentment of both the Parties at Variance: In private Life it is always reckon'd a dangerous Undertaking, especially when the Arbitration is offer'd without being desired by either of the Parties concerned: In publick Affairs the Maxim will hold equally true, and therefore no wise State will be ready to intermeddle in foreign Broils, unless, by such Intermeddling, they have a View of procuring some particular Advantage to themselves: The Ballance of Power in *Europe* is not yet in such a dangerous State, as to require our being so very busy and officious; and when it comes to be so, the other Powers of *Europe*, not yet engaged in the War, are as much interested, and ought to intermeddle as much as we; so that upon a strict Enquiry, it may, perhaps, appear, that even the Offer of these good Offices was not only unnecessary, but officious, and without any View to the particular Advantage of this Nation: And if, upon Enquiry, it should appear, that
the

the Acceptation of these good Offices has been made, by every one of the Powers concerned, in such Terms as cannot give any Hopes of Success, how can we answer to the Honour and the Dignity of this House, for making such anticipated and such rash Insinuations.

The Plan to be offered by us, may appear to be a wise and a good one, or it may appear to be otherwise; but if, upon Enquiry, it should appear, that even the offering our good Offices was rash and officious, surely the proposing of a Plan, and setting ourselves up openly as Lawgivers to the other Princes and States of *Europe*, must appear to be much more so, and may involve this Nation in Difficulties and Dangers we seem at present to be very little aware of: It may produce Confederacies against us; it may unite the Powers of *Europe* in a League to pull down the Pride of *Great Britain*; which is a Case that has often before happen'd; a Case by which almost every one of the Powers of *Europe* has been, some Time or another, brought very near to their utter Destruction. I do not know, *my Lords*, but that the *Dutch* may have acted in Concert with us, both in the offering our good Offices, and in the drawing up and proposing this Plan of Peace which is to be offered: In this, I say, they may have acted in Concert with us, because it put them to no Expence; but I am afraid it will at last appear, nay, perhaps they may endeavour to make it appear, that their acting in such a Manner proceeded entirely from a political Complaisance, they were obliged to shew to *Great Britain*; so that in the End, they may get as much Honour and Advantage as we by the Success, and can no way suffer by the Disappointment.

As to the threatening Paragraph, *my Lords*, I am very sure, that if a Man in a private Company should swagger, and swear he would not be amused; he would not be imposed on; he would always be ready to act that Part which was incumbent on him to undertake: If I were one of the Company, I should look upon it as a threatening Sort of Declaration; and if there had been any Dispute between him and me, if I had but refused any Thing he desired of me, I should look upon it as a Threat designed directly against me: Indeed, if such a Blusterer had had no Dispute with any one of the Company, I should look upon him as a Bully, and a very silly Fellow. In publick Life, I think it is the same: When it becomes necessary for this Nation to act, I hope we shall always

always act with that Vigour and Courage which is worthy of Great Britain; but I shall always be against our making any bullying or blustering Declarations, 'till it becomes necessary for us to carry them directly in Execution; and therefore I must be against this Part of the Motion.

'Tis true, my Lords, the late Treaty with Denmark is not mentioned particularly in the Motion; but when we talk so much of the Wisdom, the right Reason, and the Prudence of his Majesty's Councils, which, in the Language of Parliament on this Occasion, is understood to be the Wisdom, the right Reason, and the Prudence of his Majesty's Ministers, I must presume, and all the World will, I believe, presume, that the late Treaty with Denmark is included among the rest, and I cannot applaud the Wisdom, the right Reason, and the Prudence of that Treaty, before I know what it is. We are told, that if that Treaty had not been concluded some other would: I do not know that this Nation is at present in any Danger of being attacked, and therefore I do not know any Reason we had to pay a Subsidy to Denmark, in order to prevent that King's making any Treaty he had a Mind; but if we were to be attacked, surely we are not to become tributary to him, and to pay him a yearly Tribute, under the Name of a Subsidy, to prevent his joining with any Power whatever against us; and if the Preservation of the Ballance of Power was the only Motive for entering into such a Treaty, if that was in any real Danger, he was certainly as much concerned for its Preservation as we, and therefore we are not to suppose that he would have concluded any Treaty to its Disadvantage: From such Reasoning as I have this Day heard in this House, one would really imagine, that we are to take the Care of preserving the Ballance of Power in Europe entirely upon ourselves; which if we do, I can easily foresee, that most of the Princes of Europe will always take Advantage of our officious Care, and our ridiculous Apprehensions, and will refuse to act with Vigour even in their own Defence, unless we pay them a yearly Subsidy for so doing.

I shall conclude, my Lords, with observing, that if it was necessary for his Majesty to lay this Treaty before the other House, because it was to be attended with some Expence, the very same Reason made it necessary for his Majesty to order it to be laid before this House; for, altho' Grants of Money are first made by the other House,

no such Grant can be effectual without the Consent of this. It would seem then, that when a Demand is to be made on the other House for any Grant of Money, the Reason for making such Demand is to be laid before them without their asking for it; but when we are to consent to that very Grant, no Reason is to be laid before us, unless we ask for it. This, *my Lords*, is a different Sort of Behaviour with Respect to the two Houses, which I shall make no Remark on, but leave to your Lordships Consideration.

From what I have said, *my Lords*, I hope I have made it appear, that every Paragraph, proposed to be left out of the Motion now before us, is inconsistent with the Honour and Dignity of this House, and that neither the Duty nor the Respect we owe to his Majesty, require our putting any one of them into our Address; but that the first and last Paragraphs of the Motion are sufficient, and as much as by the antient Usage of Parliament was customary upon such Occasions, and therefore I hope your Lordships will agree to the Amendment proposed.

The Question first put was, as usual, for agreeing to the Amendment proposed, upon which there was a Division; and there being but 37 *Contents* to 89 *Not Contents*, the Amendment was disagreed to by a Majority of 52.

The Question next put was, To agree to the Motion which was carry'd without a Division; and a Committee being named to draw up the Address, they retired to the Prince's Chamber, and being returned, the Address drawn up was read and agreed to the same Day. The Address, with his Majesty's most gracious Answer, is inserted in N^o 78 of our *Register*, from Pag. 149, to 152.

The Motion for this Address was made by the Duke of D——re, and seconded by the Lord V——H——n.

The Amendment to the Motion was proposed by the Lord C——t, was opposed by the Duke of N—— and the Lord H——ck, and was supported by the Earl of C——ld, the Lord B——st, and the Earl of S——rd.

The 23d, 24th, and 25th Days of January, there was nothing done in the House of Commons, these three Days being entirely taken up in administering the Oath to the Speaker and the several Members present.

On Monday the 27th Day of *January*, after the Session was open'd, by reading a Bill for preventing clandestine Outlawries, and the usual Orders and Resolutions made, Mr. Speaker reported, that when the House attended his Majesty in the House of Peers, his Majesty was pleased to make a most gracious Speech, of which, he said, to prevent Mistakes, he had obtained a Copy, which being read to the House, the following Motion was made and seconded, *viz.*

That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the Thanks of that House, for his most gracious Speech from the Throne ; to acknowledge his Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness, in pursuing such Measures as tended towards procuring Peace and Accommodation, rather than to involve this Nation, and all *Europe*, too precipitately in a general and bloody War ; to express the just Sense that House had, of his Majesty's tender Regard for the publick Repose and Tranquility, and of his unwearied Endeavours in forming, in Concert with the States General, such a Plan of a general Pacification, as his Majesty, in his great Wisdom, conceived was consistent with the Honour and Interest of all Parties, as far as the Circumstances of Time, and the present Posture of Affairs would permit ; to assure his Majesty, that That House would chearfully and effectually raise such Supplies, as should be necessary for the Honour and Security of his Majesty and his Kingdoms ; and whatever should be the Success of his Majesty's gracious Endeavours to procure the Blessings of Peace and general Tranquility, would enable his Majesty to act that Part which Honour and Justice, and the true Interest of his People should call upon him to undertake.

This Motion was introduced with Speeches, to the same Effect with the Speeches made for introducing the Motion in the House of Lords, and therefore we shall not repeat them.

Several Speeches were made in Relation to those Paragraphs in the Motion, which seemed to imply a general Approbation of former Measures, before any Amendment was proposed ; but at last the following Amendment to the last Paragraph of the Motion was proposed, *viz.*

To assure his Majesty, that after a full State of the Affairs of the Nation had been laid before them, and consider'd by them, they would chearfully and effectually raise such Supplies, as should be necessary for the

‘ Honour and Security of his Majesty and his Kingdoms,
 ‘ and in Proportion to the Expences to be incurred by
 ‘ the other Powers, who were under the same Engage-
 ‘ ments with this Nation, and not then involved in the
 ‘ War, and whatever, &c.

The first Part of this Amendment being disapprov’d of by some Gentlemen, who were for the second Part, it was accordingly agreed to be amended, and then it stood thus :

‘ To assure his Majesty, the That House would cheer-
 ‘ fully and effectually raise such Supplies, as should be
 ‘ necessary for the Honour and Security of his Majesty
 ‘ and his Kingdoms, and in Proportion to, &c.

Of this whole Debate we shall give the Substance by Way of Argument, Answer, and Reply, as before.

The Argument for leaving out the Paragraphs approving of former Measures, and for the Amendment proposed, was to this Effect, viz.

S I R,

AS this is a new Parliament, I hope we shall begin with shewing a little more Regard to the antient Custom and Dignity of Parliaments than has been shewn of late Years. In former Times, the Addressees of this House, in Return to his Majesty’s Speech from the Throne, were always conceiv’d in the most general Terms : Our Ancestors would never condescend upon that Occasion, to enter into the Particulars of his Majesty’s Speech : When they were to approach the King, and to declare their Affection and their Fidelity to him, they thought it was inconsistent with that Fidelity they were to declare, to approve, upon that Occasion, of any ministerial Measures, and much more so to declare their Satisfaction with Measures they knew nothing about. This House is the grand Inquest of the Nation, appointed to enquire diligently, and to represent faithfully to the King, all the Grievances of his People, and all the Crimes and Mismanagements of his Servants ; and therefore it must always be a Breach of our Fidelity to our Sovereign, as well as a Breach of our Duty to his People, to approve blindly the Conduct of his Servants. When we have examined diligently, and considered deliberately the Conduct of any Minister, and are at last fully convinced that he has acted prudently and wisely for the publick good, it is then our Duty to return him the

Thanks

Thanks of the Publick, and to represent him as a faithful Minister to his Master ; but to make Panegyricks upon the Conduct of any of the King's Servants, before we have examined into it, or know any Thing about it, is more like the Language of Slaves and Sycophants to a prime Minister, than that of loyal and faithful Subjects to their Sovereign.

I must acknowledge, *Sir*, that the Motion now made to us is more general, and more adapted to the ancient Custom of Parliament, than most I have heard since I have had the Honour to be a Member of this House : I hope we shall not find that this extraordinary Modesty proceeds from a Consciousness of Misconduct : For the Sake of the Publick, I heartily wish we may find that it proceeds from superior Merit ; which is, indeed, generally attended with superior Modesty ; but as I have always been, upon such Occasions, against general Encomiums upon Ministers, and as the Proposition now before us, or at least a great Part of it, implies a general Approbation of all our late Measures, particularly those relating to the present War, which the Majority of this House are, in my Opinion, entirely ignorant of, I cannot agree to it ; because I have not yet learned Complaisance enough to approve of what I know nothing about, much less to approve of what I violently suspect to be wrong.

I had the Honour, *Sir*, to be a Member of this House in last Parliament ; and I remember several Motions were then made, for getting some Insight into the State of our Foreign Affairs, and our late Transactions : Motions which to me appeared highly reasonable, and even absolutely necessary to be comply'd with, before the House could reasonably comply with the Demands that were then made upon them ; but every one of these Motions had a Negative put upon it : I have always had a Suspicion of the Works of Darkeness ; I do not like any Conduct that cannot stand the Light at Noon Day, and therefore I am afraid some of our late Transactions are such as no Man would approve of, if they were exposed to publick View : We have been long amused with Hopes of some extraordinary Benefits that were to accrue to the Nation, from our many tedious and expensive Negotiations ; we have been long in Expectation ; but when one Negotiation was over, we have been always told to have Patience, the next was to accomplish all our Desires : We have accordingly had a great deal of
Patience ;

Patience ; but, in so far as I can comprehend, I can observe no Benefits have accrued, or are like to accrue ; but, on the contrary, many Dangers and Disadvantages ; so that the whole Train of our late Negotiations, really seems to me to have been calculated for no other End, but to extricate a Set of puzzled, perplexed Negotiators, from some former Blunder, by which they have been generally led into a second, of worse Consequence than the first : Every subsequent Negotiation seems to me to had no other View or Design, but to get rid of some Dilemma we were thrown into by the former, and happy have we thought ourselves, after a great deal of Money spent, if we could but recover our former Condition. In short, *Sir*, if any Gentleman will rise up and shew me any Addition, or any new Advantage, with respect either to our Trade or our Possessions, that this Nation has acquired by any of our late Transactions, I shall agree to the Motion ; but considering the great Expence this Nation has been put to, and the great Losses many of our Merchants have, without any Redress or Satisfaction, sustained, I cannot agree to pass Compliments on, or declare my Satisfaction with, our late Management in general, 'till it be made appear to me, that these publick and private Losses have been some Way ballanced by National Advantages.

The second Paragraph of the Motion I am, indeed, surpris'd at upon another Account ; to make our Acknowledgments to his Majesty, for not involving the Nation *too precipitately* in a bloody War, is, in my Opinion, very far from being a Compliment to his Majesty : It is impossible, it is not to be presumed that his Majesty can do any such Thing ; but if it were possible, and if any such Thing had been done, to be sure it would have been doing the Nation a very notable Mischief, and according to the Idiom of our Language, at least in private Life, to thank a Man, or to make our Acknowledgments to a Man, for his not doing us a notable Mischief, is a contemptuous Way of expressing ourselves, and is always an Insinuation, that from such a Man's Malice or his Weakness, or Imprudence, we may expect some notable Mischief ; and therefore, when we are disappointed, when the Mischief is not so great as we expected, we say, by Way of Contempt, that we are obliged to him. If none but Ministers were concerned in this Part of the Motion, I should have let it pass without any Remark, nay, I should readily have agreed to it ; but as his Ma-
jesty

jesty is concerned, I hope the Gentlemen who made the Motion, will take Care to have it some Way altered, if they are resolved to have it stand Part of the Address. This shews, *Sir*, how apt People are to fall into Blunders, when they attempt to make extravagant and forced Compliments, and therefore I wish we would resolve to avoid such Dangers, by confining our Address to a general Acknowledgment of Thanks to his Majesty, for his most gracious Speech from the Throne, and a Declaration of our Affection towards him, of our Attachment to his Family, and of our Zeal for his Service.

However, as it has been granted on all Hands, that nothing contained in our Address can prevent the future Enquires of this House, or can be a Bar to our censuring what we shall upon Enquiry find to be amiss, therefore I shall propose no Amendment to the former Part of the Motion: But I must take Notice of one Thing which is apparent, without any Enquiry, to every Man in this House, to every Man who knows any Thing of publick Affairs, and that is, the great Charge this Nation has already been put to on Account of the War, while the other Powers of *Europe*, not engaged in the War, have not put themselves to one Shilling Expence: Nay, even our Allies the *Dutch*, who, as his Majesty has been pleased to tell us, are under the same Engagements with us, have not put themselves to the least Charge on Account of the present War. Now, *Sir*, as his Majesty has been pleased to tell us, that we had no Concern with the Causes or Motives of the War, we cannot therefore be involved in it, unless it be for the Preservation of the Ballance of Power; and as all our Allies are as much interested in this Respect as we are, it is reasonable they should bear their proportionable Share of the Expence; and as they have yet done nothing like it, I think it is become necessary for us to take some Notice of this Matter in our Address to his Majesty, for which Reason I shall move for this Amendment to the latter Part of the Address. Then moved as before mentioned in the Amendment amended.

To this it was answer'd in Substance as follows, *viz.*

S I R,

AS several Gentlemen who have spoken in this Debate, seem to want a much more thorough Reformation in the Motion now before us, than what is proposed

posed by the Amendment, I must beg Leave to take some Notice of what they have said in general, before I come to speak to the Amendment proposed. We have been told a great deal, *Sir*, of the ancient Usage and Custom of Parliament, with respect to their Manner of addressing the King, by Way of Return to his Speech from the Throne : What the Gentlemen may mean by this ancient Usage, or at what Time they have a Mind to fix it, I do not know ; but I am very sure, that ever since I had the Honour to sit in Parliament, I never knew an Address proposed in more general Terms than that now before us, and therefore I am apt to conclude, that no Address can be proposed in this House, but what some Gentlemen will find Fault with. I shall agree with the honourable Gentlemen, that one of the chief Ends of our Meeting here, is to enquire diligently, and represent faithfully to the King, the Crimes and Mismanagements of his Servants, as well as the Grievances of his People ; but when his Majesty has given us an Account of his Conduct, surely that does not hinder us from making him such general Compliments, upon the Account he has been pleased to give us, as may not obstruct our future Enquiries, or prevent our Censures, in Case we should afterwards find, that any of his Servants had acted unfaithfully or imprudently, even with respect to those very Affairs he has been pleased to give us an Account of in his Speech.

It has been acknowledged, that the Motion now before us is more general than what is usual upon such Occasions ; but it is to be feared, it seems, that this extraordinary Modesty proceeds from a Consciousness of Misconduct. At this Rate, *Sir*, the Gentlemen who have the Honour to serve the Crown, must have a very hard Task : If they or their Friends propose a long and particular Address, they are then accused of endeavouring to impose upon the Honour and Dignity of this House ; and if they propose a short Address, and expressed in the most general Terms, Insinuations are then made, that their Modesty proceeds from a Consciousness of Guilt ; so that, let them chuse which Way they will, it is impossible for them to avoid Censure : Yet, even this Address, general as it is, is, it seems, to be look'd on as an Encomium upon the Ministers, and as an Approbation of what we know nothing about ; but, in my Opinion, if we examine the several Paragraphs, it will appear to be neither the one nor the other.

By

By the first Paragraph found Fault with, it is proposed to acknowledge his Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness, in pursuing such Measures as tend towards procuring Peace and Accommodation : By this, *Sir*, we do not declare, that his Majesty has pursued such Measures, nor do we approve of the Measures he has pursued ; but when those Measures are made publick, if it should appear that they were such as tended to procure Peace and Accommodation, surely this House, nay, the whole World, ought to acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness and Wisdom in that Respect ; and all that can be supposed to be meant by this Paragraph is, to acknowledge that there is more Wisdom and Goodness in pursuing such Measures as might tend towards procuring Peace, than in pursuing such Measures as might tend to involve the Nation, and all *Europe*, too precipitately in War : This then cannot, I think, be supposed to be an Encomium upon any Minister, nor an Approbation of any of the Measures that have been pursu'd.

By the other Paragraph it is proposed, to express the true Sense we have of his Majesty's Regard for the publick Tranquility, and of his Endeavours to form, in concert with the States-General, such a Plan of Pacification, as his Majesty conceives is consistent with the Honour and Interest of all Parties, as far as the Circumstances of Time, and the present Posture of Affairs will permit : Here again we approve of nothing : We do not approve of the Plan that is to be offered ; we do not so much as approve of any one Step that has been taken in the forming of that Plan ; we only acknowledge his Majesty's tender Regard for the Publick Tranquility, in endeavouring to form such a Plan as may restore it : This surely is what no Man can deny, nor hesitate one Moment in acknowledging it ; and, I believe it will be as readily granted, that it was better to form this Plan in concert with the States General, than to form it without any such Concert : So that I cannot really comprehend how this Paragraph can be interpreted to be an Encomium upon any Minister, or an Approbation of any Measure : And therefore, tho' we know nothing of the Measures that have been pursued, nay, tho' we even had a violent Suspicion that wrong Measures have been pursued, neither our Ignorance, nor our Suspicions, can be an Objection to either of these Paragraphs.

As to our Ignorance of the Measures that have been pursued, it is certain we are ignorant of a great

many of them, and it is necessary it should be so ; with respect to publick Transactions, especially those with foreign Courts, it is absolutely necessary that many of them should remain secret for several Years after they are passed ; nay, there are some that ought for ever to remain a Secret ; and that any Transaction can remain Secret long after it has been communicated to this House. I believe no Gentleman will pretend to affirm ; for the Members of this House might perhaps depend upon the Fidelity and Secrecy of one another, yet we cannot answer for the Strangers that may be amongst us. This was the only Reason why this House was pleased to give a Negative upon the Motions pointed at by the Hon^{ble} Gentlemen ; and as I had likewise the Honour to be the Member of this House, I heard such Reasons given for not complying with those Motions, as convinced me that a Compliance with any one of them, would have been one of the greatest Injuries we could have done our Country : It was not that the Authors of those Transactions were afraid on their own Accounts, that the Transactions they had been concerned in should be exposed to publick View, it was impossible it could be so for if they had been possessed with any such Fears, they had given the least Ground to suspect they were so ; it would have been a good, and I am persuaded a prevailing Reason for this House to have comply'd with the Motions.

But, Sir, as to the Suspicions that some Gentlemen may entertain, with Regard to all or any of our present Measures, it is impossible to say any Thing to them unless the Gentlemen will be pleased to acquaint us with the Grounds of their Suspicion : When they do that, I may, perhaps, be in Gentlemens Power to shew, that those Grounds are very far from being solid. They talk of our having been for a long Time amused with Hopes, and of our having been desired to have Patience : This is true, Sir, there are some among us, not in the House but in the Nation, I will say, there are a great many who have been long amused with Hopes, who have had a great deal of Patience : They have, indeed, been under a continual Course of Patience, ever since the Beginning of the late Reign : They have not yet seen, and I will say they may never see that Event happen, which they have waited for with so much Patience ; and, in my Opinion, the many Disappointments they have met with, is one of the best Reasons that can be assigned for our having

Cause to suspect any Misconduct in our late Measures. I do not think it the Interest of this Nation to be fond of adding to our Possessions; and considering the Ambition of foreign Courts, and the Disturbances given to our Government by a disaffected Party at home, our having preserved intire our foreign Possessions, and prevented all Invasions upon our People at home, is an Argument, that all our late Measures have been concerted and pursued with the utmost Foresight and Prudence. To this we may add, that though our Trade has been sometimes a little interrupted by the ambitious Views of foreign Courts, yet it is certain, it has greatly improved in every Branch within these last twenty Years, and is now, I believe, in as flourishing a State as ever the Trade of Great Britain was in any Age; so that to return the Compliment to the Gentlemen on the other Side of the Question, if either of them will shew me where the Nation has lately suffered, either in its Possessions, or in its Trade, by any Mismanagement of those at the Helm of our own Affairs, I shall agree to any Amendment they please to propose; but I cannot think it reasonable to load our own Ministers with the little Disturbances we have met with, or the small Losses we may have sustain'd by the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts.

With Regard to the Impropriety of Expression taken Notice of, I cannot think there is any good Foundation for the Criticism; but if there were, we must see that it proceeds entirely from the great Care the honourable Gentleman, who made the Motion, took, to avoid every Thing that might look like an Approbation of any late Measure: For this Reason he would not propose that we should thank his Majesty for not involving us in the War, because it might have been said, that for what we knew it was necessary, it was incumbent upon us, to have engaged at the very Beginning of the War; therefore, to avoid this Objection, he only proposes, that we should make our Acknowledgments to his Majesty, for not having engaged *too precipitately* in the War; and as this might have done, and would (as the honourable Gentleman says) have been doing a very notable Injury to the Nation, I cannot find that there is any Impropriety in our making our Acknowledgments to his Majesty, for his not having done so.

I come now to that which I take to be the only Question now before us, I mean, Sir, the Amendment proposed, as it now stands amended. I shall readily grant,

N n 2

that

that all the Nations of *Europe* are equally concerned in supporting the Ballance of Power, and that therefore it is very reasonable, that every one of them should bear a proportionable Share of the Expence necessary, or that may become necessary for that Purpose; and I am persuaded, his Majesty will use his utmost Endeavours to prevail with every one of them, to do what is incumbent upon them in that Respect; but I must leave it to Gentlemen to consider, whether our putting such a Caution into our Address, would not shew to the whole World a Sort of Diffidence in his Majesty's Conduct: I am convinced we have no Cause, from any Part of his Majesty's past Conduct, to shew any Diffidence in his future; and I am very certain, we never could have chosen a worse Time than the present, to begin to shew any such Diffidence: The Nation is in great Danger of being involved in a bloody and expensive War, unless his Majesty succeeds in his Endeavours for restoring the Peace and Tranquility of *Europe*; and it is certain, that nothing can contribute more towards rendering his Majesty's Endeavours successful, than an establish'd and general Belief, that a perfect Harmony and entire Confidence subsists between him and his Parliament: While they are convinced of this, every one of the Parties now engaged in War will be cautious of giving too great a Scope to ambitious Views, or of pushing too far the Success they may have, for fear of drawing upon themselves the united Force of the King and Parliament of *Great Britain*; but if any Reason should be given for them to believe, that the Parliament puts no Confidence in his Majesty's Conduct, they may then conceive Hopes of disuniting the Power of *Great Britain*, and in that Case they will not much regard the most reasonable Terms of Peace that can be offered to them, by Means of his Majesty's Mediation: Nay, I have good Reason to believe, that some of the Powers engaged in War, particularly *Spain*, will give no positive Answer to the Instances lately made to them, 'till they hear of the opening of the *British* Parliament, and the Addresses made upon that Occasion; and if any Mistrust in his Majesty's Conduct should appear in our Address, we may believe their Answer will not be such as ought to be wished for: Thus, by acting too cautiously, we may not only prevent the Success of his Majesty's Endeavours for restoring the publick Tranquility, but we may give such Encouragement to the ambitious Views

of some of the Powers of *Europe*, as must necessarily at last involve this Nation in a most expensive, and even a most dangerous War.

But this, *Sir*, is not the only Objection against the Amendment proposed; for tho' all the Nations of *Europe* are equally with us concerned in preserving the Ballance of Power, yet some of them may be blind to their own Interest, nay, it is very probable some of them always will; and are we to neglect what is necessary for our own Security, or to refuse contributing any Thing towards preserving or restoring the Ballance of Power, because every one of the other Parties concerned will not contribute their proportionable Share? This, in my Opinion, would be a very odd Sort of Maxim for us to lay down; it is such a one as I hope will never be insisted on in the Councils of *Great Britain*. Suppose, for Example, our Neighbours the States General, should be so blind to the real Interest of their Country, as to look quietly on, 'till they saw any one of the Powers of *Europe* extend their Conquests so far, as to be able to give Law to all the rest; would that be a Reason for our behaving in the same Manner? No, *Sir*, let our Neighbours do what they will, it is incumbent upon us, to look in Time to our own Security; and I hope we shall always be ready to do what our Honour and Safety may require, upon every such Occasion; for if ever we should resolve to put ourselves to no Charges for preserving the Ballance of Power, unless the States General, or any other Nation of *Europe*, will agree to join with us, and to bear a proportionable Share of the Expence, we should from that Moment become dependent upon that other State, and consequently would be neglected and despised by all the other Powers of *Europe*.

Therefore, *Sir*, as the Amendment proposed tends, in my Opinion, towards shewing a Diffidence in his Majesty's Conduct, as it tends towards placing this Nation in a Sort of Dependency upon other Powers, I cannot but be against it.

The Reply made to this was to the following Effect.

S I R,

ALTHOUGH I have had the Honour to be long a Member of this House, yet I find I never knew the whole of my Duty 'till this Day. I always imagined that we met here to do Business, and not to make Compliments.

Compliments. I shall never be against expressing our Loyalty and Fidelity to our Sovereign, upon every proper Occasion ; because I take it to be no Compliment, I take it to be our Duty, and immemorial Custom has established it as such, at the Beginning of every Session of Parliament ; but to applaud his Majesty's Wisdom, his Goodness, and his tender Regard for his People in every Part of his Conduct, which he may be pleased to mention in his Speech, is a Method of expressing ourselves, which ought, indeed, to be called complimenting ; it can be called nothing else, because it cannot be sincere, when we bestow those high Epithets upon what we know nothing about. This, indeed, I never before understood to be any Part of our Duty, and I am sure the Custom is not immemorial, for if the Gentleman will look but a very little back in our Journals, he will see when it began ; and I must say, I am sorry it was ever begun ; for, in my Opinion, it derogates highly from the Honour and Dignity of Parliament, and from that Sincerity and Simplicity for which this Nation was, in ancient Times, so deservedly famous.

The honourable Gentleman appears under a great Concern for those who have the Honour to serve the Crown : Perhaps my Concern for them is not so great ; and for this Reason it may be, that I do not think their Task so hard : I confess, that when I observe any Modesty in them, I am apt enough to suspect that it proceeds from Consciousness of Guilt, rather than from Consciousness of Merit ; and in their Motions for Addresses, they have of late so very seldom shewn any Modesty, that I was surpris'd to find the least Appearance of it upon the present Occasion. However, *Sir*, it cannot be said that the Modesty they have now shewn is in any Degree excessive ; for as the Speeches from the Throne are, by the Custom of Parliament, supposed to be Speeches from the Ministers, and as his Majesty's Conduct, when it comes to be consider'd in this House, is always supposed to be the Conduct of his Ministers, I cannot allow that those who propose that we should talk so much in our Address of their Wisdom and Goodness, and of their tender Regard for the publick Repose and Tranquility, have testify'd any excessive Degree of Modesty, though it may, perhaps, appear to be a little more than what has lately been usual upon such Occasions : If the Gentlemen had been pleased to have left out the two Paragraphs in which these Compliments are contained, their Modesty surely would have been greater, and their Task would
certainly

certainly have been easier, because the Motion would have been shorter ; and I am convinced it would have given more Satisfaction to the Majority of the Nation, and, I hope, to the Majority of this House.

I must say, Sir, I am not a little surpris'd to hear any Gentleman undertake to shew, that neither of the two Paragraphs found Fault with, contain an Encomium upon any Minister, or an Approbation of any Measure : I am persuaded, every Man without Doors that reads them, will think otherwise ; nay, I am convinced, that all those, who are not acquainted with our modern Refinements in Politicks, will think that we could not with any Sincerity express ourselves so, without having been made acquainted with all the late Measures relating to War or Peace, so as to be able to see that they deserved those fine Epithets we are to give them ; they will not consider that these fine Expressions are designed only as Compliments, and therefore do not require any Sincerity.

As to the first Paragraph, the honourable Gentleman has acknowledged, that if the Words *too precipitately* had not been put in, it would have been a Declaration, at least, that it was neither necessary nor incumbent upon us to engage in the War, which was a Declaration this House could not decently make, without knowing something more of our late Transactions than have been yet communicated to us ; and an honourable Gentleman, who spoke before him, has shewed, I think, to a Demonstration, that the putting of those Words into our Address will carry an Insinuation, which I hope no Man will apply to his Majesty, whatever may be done with respect to the Ministers : But the Paragraph, even with these Words, imports a Declaration from us, that it would have been precipitate, it would have been rash, to have involved the Nation in War before this Time ; which is a Declaration we cannot, in my Opinion, make, without more Lights than we have at present before us : But suppose that we are convinced of the Truth of this Declaration, what are we then to do ? We are to acknowledge his Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness, or rather the Wisdom and Goodness of his Ministers, in not having been guilty of a rash Action ; and whether such an Acknowledgment be consistent with the Dignity of this House, or even with common Sense, I must leave to Gentlemen to judge ?

With

With Regard to the other Paragraph, allow me to suppose, *Sir*, that we were by the Treaty of *Vienna*, or otherwise, obliged in Honour to send immediate Succours to the Emperor ; would it not look very odd in us, to make our Acknowledgments to those who advised his Majesty to interpose only as a Mediator, when he was in Honour obliged to engage as a Party in the Dispute ? Let me suppose again, that there were several Disputes and Differences subsisting between this Nation and any one of the Parties concern'd in the present War, which Disputes and Differences we had no Hopes of accommodating in a friendly Manner ; and which were of such a Nature, as could not be given up without injuring both the Honour and Interest of the Nation : In such a Case, could we have had a more proper Opportunity to vindicate our Honour and our just Rights ; and if so, can we make any Acknowledgments to those who have advised his Majesty not to lay hold of such a fair Opportunity ? Then as to our Concert with the *Dutch*, whether there has been any such or not, does not, I am sure, appear from any publick Step they have taken ; and therefore I do not see how we can make our Acknowledgments on that Account : I hope, however, it is so, I hope they have acted in every Thing in Concert with us, as well as we have done with them. I believe it is their Interest as well as ours to act in that Manner, but a Nation may mistake its own Interest, and therefore I may suppose that they have been, from the very Beginning of this War, and even before it broke out, engaged in a separate Interest ; if so, can we make any Acknowledgments to those who have advised his Majesty to concert any Measures with them ? All these Suppositions may be true, for what we know ; and yet by agreeing to this Paragraph, we must presume every one of them to be false, otherwise we must appear to be inconsistent with ourselves.

Thus, *Sir*, even to take these two Paragraphs in the Sense that the honourable Gentleman has put upon them, we must suppose we were no Way engaged, either in Honour or Interest, to take a Share in the present War ; that it would have been precipitate and rash in us to have engaged in it, and that the *Dutch* are engaged in the same Interest, and have acted in every Thing in Concert with us ; which are Suppositions we have not, I am afraid, any great Reason to make : But our Constituents, the People who sent us hither, and whose good Opinion

Opinion we ought to preserve, will go further; they will, from these two Paragraphs in our Address, suppose, that the Measures pursued by the Ministers, for procuring Peace and Accommodation, have been wise and good; that the Plan of Peace is such a one as it ought to be, and that the most prudent Measures have been taken to make it effectual; and if they should afterwards find themselves mistaken, what Opinion can they have of our Wisdom and Goodness? I am afraid it will be but a poor Excuse, to an honest sincere Country Gentleman, that he is never to look for Sincerity in the Addresses of this House, that we never mean any Thing but Compliment by any general Expressions in them.

From what I have said, I think it will appear, that both our Ignorance and our Suspicions are good Arguments against our making such high Compliments to the Ministers; for it is upon them these Compliments are, by the Custom of Parliament, presumed to be bestowed: His Majesty has no Concern in the Debate, and therefore we may treat the Subject with the more Freedom. Our Ignorance, as to all our late Transactions, is very great; and if future Parliaments should be always of the same Opinion with the last, we are like to remain for ever in the most profound Ignorance; for I did not hear one Argument made Use of in the last Parliament, against the Motions then made, for some Insight into our foreign Affairs, but what will for ever be as strong as it was at that Time: The Motions then made, were not for a Discovery of any of the Transactions then upon the Anvil; these Motions were only for some Papers relating to Transactions that had been quite finished several Years before; and the only Reason I heard given for refusing us that Favour was, that the publishing of such Papers, the discovering of such Transactions, might open old Sores, they might relate some Way or another to the present Transactions, and therefore it was not proper they should be laid before us; nay, we were not so much as allowed to call for them, in order to have had that Answer from his Majesty, from whom only, it was proper for this House to take such an Answer. At this Rate, we shall never have any Account of the Transactions of any Minister, 'till some new Favourite starts up, and resolves to disgrace his Predecessor, by exposing the Wickedness or the Folly of his Conduct.

That our late Conduct has not been quite so prudent, is, I am sure, very much suspected by the Generality
O o of

of the Nation, whatever it may be by the Majority of this House. We have been long amused, we have had a great deal of Patience; but it is not that Sort of People, meant by the honourable Gentleman, who have been so amused: It is not the Disaffected, the Enemies to his Majesty's Family, and the present happy Establishment, who have been obliged to have Patience; no, such Men are, I believe, glad to see such Measures pursued: It is those who are well affected towards his Majesty, those who are real Friends to the present Establishment, who have been lately amused, and it must be acknowledged they have had a great deal of Patience. That the Nation has been affronted, that our Trade has been interrupted, that our Merchants have been plundered, and our Seamen most cruelly used, are Facts not to be controverted. Whether they have proceeded from the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts, or from the Blunders of some of our own People at home, is a Question this House ought to look into; and for that Purpose we ought to insist upon having all necessary Lights laid before us. But for the present I shall suppose, that they have all proceeded from the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts: What Satisfaction then have we obtained for the Insults and Indignities we have suffer'd? What Reparation have our Merchants got for the Losses they have sustain'd? Is this Nation brought so low, that we must submit to suffer, to be disturbed by the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts, without daring once to insist upon an adequate Satisfaction, a full Reparation? I hope not, Sir, and 'till an adequate Satisfaction and a full Reparation be obtained, I shall not be ready to agree to pass Compliments upon our late Conduct. If we have met with so few or so small Disturbances, if our Trade has so greatly increased, what Advantage hath the Publick reaped from the happy State we have been in? What Part of the publick Debts have we discharged? What Taxes have we relieved the People from? Surely, Sir, if we have been for so many Years in such a happy State, a great Part of our Debts might have been discharged, and several of our most grievous Taxes taken off. But the Fact is otherwise, we have been every Year keeping up great Armies, fitting out great Fleets, and putting the Nation to a vast Expence. In short, we have been for these several Years in a very odd Sort of State; we have had War without Hostilities, and Peace without Quiet; and while the Nation continues in the same mongrel
Sort

Sort of State, shall this House pass high Compliments on the Conduct of our Ministers ?

To pretend, *Sir*, that the Amendment offer'd will shew a Diffidence in his Majesty's Conduct, is to tell this House, that we must never recommend any Measure to our Sovereign, or rather to the Ministers of our Sovereign ; which is a Maxim no Member of this House will, I hope, admit of. Surely, *Sir*, we are not to neglect our Duty to our Country, or to our King, for fear of giving foreign Courts Cause to think that we have a Diffidence in his Majesty's Conduct : Such Surmises we are always to disregard, even though the Nation were in much greater Danger than it is at present : For this we have many *Précédents*, but one I shall take Notice of, which I think directly in Point. I believe it will be granted, that in the Year 1702, this Nation was in greater Danger than it can be supposed at present ; we had then actually declared War against *France* and *Spain*, who had at that Time in Alliance with them, the King of *Portugal*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, whereas we had none but the Emperor and the *Dutch* ; yet in that Year, this House not only recommended to the late Queen, to prevail with the *Dutch* to prohibit Trade with *France* and *Spain*, but actually made it one of the Conditions of the Power they gave her, to augment her Forces, and that no foreign Troops, she should take into her Service, should enter into *English* Pay, till that Condition were comply'd with. I do not doubt but the House was then told, that such a Recommendation, much more such a Condition annexed to their Grant, would shew a Mistrust in her Majesty's Conduct ; but they thought it their Duty to do so, therefore they had no Regard to such Insinuations, and we all know, that their Behaviour was attended with no bad Consequence.

The Ballance of Power in *Europe*, is certainly of as much Consequence to other Nations as it is to this ; and when it comes to be really in Danger, it is not to be questioned but we will find other Powers as ready to join with us, as we are to join with them, for its Preservation ; and unless we shew too much Readiness to bear all the Expence, it is also certain, that those who are in equal Danger, will never refuse to bear their proportionable Share of the Expence : But if ever this Nation should set itself up as the *Don Quixote* of *Europe*, we may then expect that most of the Powers of *Europe*, who

are not immediately attack'd, will leave the whole Burden upon us; and this, I am afraid, is too much the Case at present; for as our Neighbours the Dutch, are more exposed to the Danger than we are, I must conclude from their Inactivity, that either they do not think the Ballance of Power in Danger, or otherwise we have given them Room to believe, that we will take upon us the Defence of this Ballance, without putting them to any Trouble or Expence; and for this Reason I think it is become absolutely necessary for us to give some such Recommendation to his Majesty, as is proposed by this Amendment, in Order to convince the World, that we are not to set ourselves up as the *Don Quixots* of Europe. Such a Resolution can subject us to no Dependency, because it is a Resolution we can alter whenever we have a Mind; for if such a Case should happen, as it is hardly possible it ever will, that most of the Nations in Europe should resolve to look tamely on, and see the Balance of Power quite overturned, I would then think it the Duty and the Honour of this Nation, rather to play the *Don Quixote* of Europe, than to see our own Liberties swallow'd up in the Ruins of those of our Neighbours.

The Question being at last put for agreeing to the Amendment, upon a Division, it was carry'd in the Negative, 265 to 185.

Then the Question was put upon the Motion, which was agreed to without a Division; and a Committee being named to draw up the Address, they made their Report next Day, when the Address was agreed to. The Address is inserted in Number 78 of our *Register*, p. 152, to which his Majesty return'd the following most gracious Answer.

Gentlemen,

I Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Address. I depend entirely upon your Fidelity and Affection, and your due Regard to the Publick Welfare, that I shall be supported in such Measures as I may be obliged to pursue. And you may be assured, that the Honour and Interest of my Crown and People shall be the Rule and Guide of all my Actions and Resolutions.

The Motion for this Address was made by *J—n*
H—s, Esq; Member for *F—ey* in Cornwall, and
 seconded

seconded by *J—n B—ll*, Esq; Member for *P—kshire*. The Amendment was proposed by Sir *W—m W—m*, Bart. Member for *S—tshire*, and amended by his Honour the *M—r* of the *R—lls*. The Speakers for the Motions, and against the Amendment, besides the two first mentioned, were *T—s W—n*, Esq; *H—y P—m*, Esq; Sir *W—m Y—ge*, *J—ph D—rs*, Esq; and *J—mes O—pe*, Esq; The Speakers against the Motion, and for the Amendment, besides the two above mention'd, were the *L—d M—th*, the *L—d N—l S—t*, *W—m S—n*, Esq; Sir *T—s A—n*, *R—t D—fs*, Esq; *P—p G—n*, Esq; *S—l S—ys*, Esq; *W—r P—r*, Esq; and *W—m P—ey*, Esq;

On Thursday the 6th Day of *February*, it was resolv'd in the House of Commons, That in the Petition of any Elector or Electors, for any County, City, or Place, sending Members to Parliament, complaining of an undue Election and Return, and alledging that some other Person was duly elected, and ought to have been returned, the sitting Member so complain'd of, might demand and examine into the Qualification of such Person, so alledged to be duly elected, in the same Manner as if such Person had himself petitioned: Which Resolution was declared to be a standing Order of the House.

Next Day the House (according to Order) resolv'd itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the Supply granted to his Majesty; and a Motion being made for the House's coming to a Resolution, That 30,000 Men should be employ'd for Sea-Service, for the Year 1735, beginning from the 1st Day of *January* 1734. This Number was objected to, as being too large, and much larger than what was voted for last Year; and therefore it was moved, that their Resolution should be, That 20,000 Men should be employ'd for Sea-Service for the Year 1735, beginning from the 1st Day of *January*, 1734, which was the Number voted for last Year, and was, as they thought, sufficient for the ensuing Year. Upon this there ensu'd a Debate, in which the Arguments made Use of for the 30,000 Men were as follow, viz.

S I R,

W I T H Respect to the Question now before us, I hope no Gentleman expects, that for his Satisfaction his Majesty should be obliged to disclose to this House

House all the Secrets of his Government, all the Negotiations he is carrying on with foreign Powers, and all the private Informations he may have received, in Relation to the Views and Designs of the several Powers now engaged in War; nor can it be expected that his Majesty should now declare positively to us, what he is resolved to do, in Relation to his engaging or not engaging in the present War: If any such Thing could be done, I believe it would very soon put an End to the Question; but no such Thing has ever yet been practised, nor has this House ever thought such a Practice necessary, for inducing them to agree to any Demand made by the Crown, and I hope it never will; for if ever this should come to be thought necessary, it would lay this Nation under a very great Disadvantage; because it cannot be expected that what is once disclosed in such a numerous Assembly, could continue long a Secret; from whence this Inconvenience would necessarily ensue, that foreign Powers might at all Times proceed with great Secrecy in their Measures, for the Destruction or Disturbance of this Nation, while we could do nothing to annoy our Enemies, nor even provide for our own Defence, but in the most open and publick Manner: Nay, if our King should, at any Time, get Information of the Designs of our Enemies, he would be obliged to discover to this House, that is to say, he would be obliged to tell our Enemies from whom he had that Information; and, upon such a Supposition, it is certain no Information would ever be given to us; we could never know any Thing of the secret Designs of our Enemies, 'till the very Moment of their Execution; and therefore we must conclude, that such a Maxim in this House would be absolutely inconsistent with the Safety of our Country; for which Reason we must, in the present Case, and in all such Cases, take the Argument entirely from what appears in his Majesty's Speech, and from those publick Accounts, which are known to every Gentleman in the House.

Upon this Footing, Sir, and upon no other, shall I presume to give my Reasons for agreeing to the Augmentation proposed; and, indeed, upon this Footing, the Reasons are, in my Opinion, so evident and so strong, that there is no Occasion for enquiring into any Secrets, in Order to find other Reasons for our agreeing to this Augmentation. From what has as yet appeared, we are not, 'tis true, obliged to engage in the present War;

War; for as the Motives, or at least the pretended Motives for the War, relate entirely to the Affair of *Poland*; and as that is an Affair in which the Interest of this Nation is no Way concerned, we are not obliged to engage in the War upon that Account: The Emperor has, indeed, called upon us for the Succours, which he pretends are stipulated by the Treaties subsisting between us; but as we are not, by any Treaty, engaged to support either one Party or the other in *Poland*, or to support his Imperial Majesty in his Views relating to that Kingdom, therefore we do not think ourselves obliged, by any Treaty subsisting between us, to furnish him with Succours in a War, which has been occasion'd, as is pretended at least, meerly by the present Dispute about the Election of a King of *Poland*. If we were absolutely certain, that the Motives assigned were the real and the only Motives for the present War; if we had a full Assurance that the Parties engaged would carry their Views no further, I should readily grant, that there would have been no Occasion for our putting ourselves to any Expence, nor would there be now any Necessity for the Augmentation proposed; but this is what we neither could at the Beginning, nor can yet depend on: Foreign Courts may have secret Views which cannot be immediately discover'd; but his Majesty, by offering to interpose his good Offices, has taken the most effectual Method for discovering the secret Views of all the Parties concern'd; and if, by the Interposition of his good Offices, he should discover, that either of the Parties engaged in War will accept of no reasonable Terms, we may from thence conclude, that the Affair of *Poland* was not the only and real Motive for the War; but that, under that Pretence, there was a Design formed to overturn the Ballance of Power in *Europe*; in which Case we would be obliged, both in Honour and Interest, as well as by Treaty, not only to take a Share in the War, but to join with all our Force against that Party, who we found had formed such a Design.

In the Formation of every Design for overturning the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, the Party that forms it, must not only have great Ambition, but, before he dares attempt to put it in Execution, he must have some Hopes of Success: The Ambition of our Neighbours is what we cannot prevent, but we may, by proper Precautions reasonably taken, deprive them of all Hopes of Success; and by so doing we shall always prevent their attempting

to put their Designs in Execution. From this Maxim we may see the Wisdom of the Measures taken last Year: His Majesty did not find himself obliged to take any Share in the War, but as the Ambition of either of the Parties engaged, might at last involve this Nation in the War; therefore he offered to interpose his good Offices, for bringing about an Accommodation. Whatever might have been the Views of the Parties engaged at the Beginning of the War, yet upon seeing this Nation put itself in such a Posture of Defence, they all thought proper to drop any ambitious Views they might then entertain, by accepting of the good Offices his Majesty had offer'd: Their ready Compliance in this Respect, can be attributed to nothing but the Preparations we made last Year, and the Powers that were granted by last Session of Parliament to his Majesty; for by these we deprived them of all Hopes of succeeding in any of their ambitious Views. It was this that produced an Acceptation of the good Offices his Majesty had offered; and if we should slacken in our Measures, if we should discontinue our Preparations, it would render us despicable in the Eyes of all the Parties engaged in War, and would consequently disappoint the good Effects we have Reason to expect from that Acceptation.

At the Beginning of last Session it was very well known, that the *French* were fitting out a large Squadron at *Brest*, and were providing Transports and a Land Army to be sent along with that Squadron, under Pretence of relieving *Dantzick*. In such a Situation, Sir, I should have thought those who had the Honour to advise the King, very imprudent, or very unfaithful Counsellors, if they had not advised him to put the Nation immediately into a State of Defence; for tho' it was probable, neither the *French* nor any other Power, would attack us while we continued neutral; yet it is certain, it was then, and always will be, very much the *French* Interest to have this Nation of its Side; and if they had then seen, or should upon any such Occasion see, that it would be easy to overturn our Government, by our not being sufficiently provided for Defence, and could, by overturning our Government, get this Nation to join with them, it would then have been, and always will be, very well worth their while to make the Attempt: therefore, in Order to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, we ought always to be upon our Guard, and ought to make some additional Provision for our Defence, when

when any of our Neighbours are fitting out large Squadrons, which may possibly be made Use of to attack or invade this Nation. This was the Reason, and this was then, I think, a sufficient Reason for his Majesty's desiring 20,000 Men from last Session of Parliament for Sea Service; but from what has since happen'd, this Reason seems to have gather'd a little more Weight; for though there was no particular Reason to suspect, that the *French* Squadron was designed against us, yet there was no other Place in the World for which it could be design'd, except *Dantzick*; and whether it was designed for *Dantzick* or not, it is certain it did not go to *Dantzick*; for we all know it continu'd at *Brest* the whole Summer.

After the last Session of Parliament had agreed to the 20,000 Seamen desir'd by his Majesty, he had an Account, that besides the Squadron fitting out at *Brest*, both the *French* and the *Spaniards* had given Orders for fitting out all their Ships of War, lying in any of their Ports, from *Toulon* round to *Brest*; from whence his Majesty, with great Reason, thought it absolutely necessary to make a further Addition to his Naval Force; for which Purpose he applied to his Parliament for a Power to do so; and in Pursuance of the Powers granted him upon that Application, he has since made an Addition of 7000 Men to the Sea Service, so that our present Naval Establishment consists of 27000 Men; seven Thousand of which must be reduced, if we should agree to grant but 20,000 Seamen for the ensuing Year.

Having thus laid the present State of our Naval Force before you, let us consider the present State of the Affairs of *Europe*, the Circumstances our Neighbours are in, and the Circumstances we are in ourselves. As to the Affairs of *Europe*, it is certain, they seem to be in no less dangerous State than they were last Year; his Majesty's good Offices are, indeed, accepted of, but that Acceptation has not as yet produced the wish'd for Effect, nor can it be expected it should, if his Majesty should appear to be less powerful when he comes to offer Terms of Peace, than he was when he made the Offer of his good Offices; we cannot therefore, from the present State of the Affairs of *Europe*, draw any Argument for diminishing our Naval Force. Then, as to the Circumstances of our Neighbours, it is very certain, that not only all the Ships of War, fitted out either by the *French* or *Spaniards*, are continu'd in Commission; but both these Nations are, with the utmost Application, rebuild-

P p

ing

ing and repairing every Ship of Force they have in their Dominions, and are, besides, building new Ships of War as fast as they can; from whence I think it is evident, that instead of making any Reduction of the Naval Force we had last Year, we ought to make some Addition, and the Addition proposed, which is properly but 3000 Men, is, in my Opinion, the least that can be thought of.

This must be thought still more reasonable, if we consider our own particular Circumstances, and the Difficulty there is of getting our Seamen together after they are once dispersed. In Countries where absolute and arbitrary Government prevails, they have all their Seamen register'd, and they always know where they may find them when they have Occasion for them: Their Seamen, as well as all their other Subjects, are under a Sort of martial Discipline, they cannot absent themselves without a Forelof, and they must remain absent no longer than their Forelof gives them Leave; by which Means the Government always knows what Number they may depend on upon any Emergency; but in this happy Country, where every private Man enjoys his full Liberty, we cannot command our Seamen to stay at Home, nor can we call them Home when we have a Mind; for, notwithstanding the Difficulties which every one knows we found last Summer, to man the Fleet then fitted out, yet it was computed there were at least 11000 *British* Sailors employ'd all last Summer, on Board of *British* Ships in the Service of Foreigners, either as Transports, or as trading Ships: In this Country, we never have any Way of providing Sailors for our Fleet, upon any sudden Emergency, but by pressing those Seamen we find by Chance at Home, or upon our own Coasts; and this Method is always attended with so many Inconveniences, that, in Order to prevent our being at any Time reduced to that Necessity, every Man who has a due Regard to the Liberty and Happiness of the Subject, must agree, that we ought, upon every Occasion, to begin early to provide against any Danger we think we have Reason to apprehend.

In all the Measures we have hitherto taken, relating to the present War, our antient and natural Allies, the *Dutch*, have cordially joined with us in every Thing: They joined heartily with his Majesty, in offering their good Offices for composing the present unhappy Differences in *Europe*, and they have likewise joined with his Majesty, in concerting a proper Plan for a Pacification.

It may perhaps be insinuated, that they have put themselves to no Expence on Account of the present War ; but this is neither a just nor a true Insinuation ; for it is very well known, that before this War broke out, they had resolved to have made a very considerable Reduction of their Land Forces. Every one knows, that soon after the Peace of *Utrecht*, they reduced their Army to 32000 Men, and for several Years after, they kept it at that Number ; but upon a Change which happen'd in the Affairs of *Europe*, they augmented it again to 52000 Men, and at that Time we likewise found it necessary to increase our Army to 26000 Men : The War with which *Europe* was then threaten'd was happily prevented ; and as soon as it was, we immediately began to reduce our Army ; we reduced at first 5000, and soon after 3000, of the Number we had increased it to ; but the *Dutch* made at that Time no Reduction : They never thought of making any Reduction, till the very Year before the present War broke out ; then, indeed, a Resolution was actually taken in some of the Provinces, to reduce 10,000, and that was soon to have been follow'd by the Reduction of another 10,000, in Order to have brought their Army to its former Standard of 32000 Men : Both these Reductions were put off, meerly on Account of the present War ; so that, to speak properly, they have put themselves to the Expence of maintaining 20,000 Men ever since the War began ; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd, if they have made no Addition to their Fleet, specially if we consider, that they are in no Danger of being attacked by Sea, and the bad Condition their Navy happens to be in at present, which is occasioned by the vast Expence they were put to during the last War, in which they were obliged to maintain a much greater Number of Land Forces than we maintain'd, and were further obliged to be at the Expence of all the Sieges that were undertaken during the War.

The *Dutch*, 'tis true, concluded a Treaty of Neutrality with *France*, with regard to the *Austrian Netherlands* ; but it is not from thence to be concluded, that they are engaged in any Interest separate from us. They are no Way concerned in the Affair of *Poland*, no more than we ; if their Barrier was secured, and the Ballance of Power not brought in any Danger, they had good reason to think themselves no Way concerned in the War ; the first they provided for by their Treaty of Neutrality, and the last could be in no Danger, as long

as the Parties engaged in the War, confined their Views to what they then publicly declared ; but if either of them should begin to extend their Views, and thereby bring the Ballance of Power into Danger, the *Dutch* would be then at Liberty, and would certainly do what was incumbent upon them in such a Conjunction ; and till that Conjunction happens, we can have no more Concern in the War than they : Nay further, in the concluding of that Treaty of Neutrality, so careful were the *Dutch* to preserve to themselves a Liberty of doing afterwards what they should find proper ; that by an express Provision in the Treaty, they have reserved to themselves a Power of sending the stipulated Succours to the Emperor, in Case they should find it necessary to do so.

Thus it appears, that the *Dutch* are so far from having fallen into any Measures separate from us, that they have continu'd a heavy Charge upon themselves, in Order to be ready to join with us in any Measure that may hereafter appear necessary, for preserving the Balance of Power in *Europe* ; and for that Reason, as well as a great many others, I think it is incumbent upon us to put ourselves in such a Condition, as may enable us to act that Part which *Great Britain* ought to undertake, in the glorious Cause of preserving and securing the Liberties of *Europe*.

To this it was answer'd as follows, viz.

S I R,

I Believe it was never pretended to be laid down as a Maxim in this House, that, in Order to induce us to agree to the Demands made by the Crown, the King was obliged to disclose to us all the Secrets of his Government ; but when we are to lay heavy Taxes upon the People we represent, I must think some other Reasons ought to be given us, than those we meet with in publick Gazettes, and common News-papers : Such Accounts I shall always think below the Notice of a *British* House of Commons ; but since we have at present none other before us, I shall condescend, or rather beg Leave, to argue from such Informations, as well as the Gentlemen who seem to differ from me in Opinion : However, I hope this Practice will not be drawn into Precedent, for I shall always think it inconsistent with the Honour of this House, and with the Duty we owe to our Constituents : We ought never to ground our

Opinions

Opinions upon any Informations, but such as we receive directly from the Throne, or such as are laid before us in the most solemn Manner; and if in any Case we ought to be cautious in this Respect, it ought surely to be in Matters which may any Way relate to the loading of the Subject with Taxes.

As no Account has been laid before us of any of our late Treaties or Negotiations; as we have had no Account how this Nation stands engaged, with respect to either of the Parties now at War, it is certain, that the Argument now before us, must be taken up entirely upon the Footing of his Majesty's Speech, and of those publick Accounts, which every Man knows who is a Member of any Coffee-house Club, as well as every Gentleman who has the Honour to be a Member of this House. If we look into his Majesty's Speech, we there find, that he has not yet engaged himself any Way but by his good Offices, for reconciling the Differences at present subsisting in *Europe*: From his Majesty's Speech it cannot therefore be pretended, that we are now in any greater Danger than we were last Year, unless these good Offices have been employ'd in such a blundering Way, by those his Majesty has entrusted, as to make us Parties in the Dispute, which I hope no Man in the least suspects; and therefore, from his Majesty's Speech, there cannot be drawn any Show of an Argument for the Augmentation proposed.

The Argument then, must rest wholly upon the Accounts we have from publick Gazettes and Newsmongers; and if any Credit can be given to such Informations, I must now think, as indeed I have always thought, that 20,000 Seamen were more than sufficient for the Service of this Nation last Year; for, considering that those from whom we have any Thing to fear by Sea, were then deeply engaged in War, it could not be supposed that they would insult or invade us, unless they had found that we were to have engaged against them. I shall grant, that it would have been very much for the Interest of *France* to have had this Nation joined with them; but, considering the great Standing Army we then had in *Britain* and *Ireland*, considering the Number of Ships we then had in Commission, and considering how generally well affected this Nation is to the present happy Establishment, can we suppose that *France* would have attempted to overturn our Government, with a Squadron of 18 or 20 Men of War, and an Army of four
or

or five Regiments, when, by making such an Attempt, and failing in it, they would have drawn the highest Resentment of this Nation upon themselves, and that at a Time when they were deeply engaged in War with another Power, and when, without such a Provocation, they had, in all Appearance, nothing to fear from this Nation? Apprehensions founded upon such odd Suppositions, can never be wanting; and if this House should give Way to such Apprehensions, we must never expect to be relieved from the Load of Debts and Taxes we now groan under.

But we had last Year so little Reason to fear that *France* had any Design against us, that it was certain their Fleet which was fitted out at *Brest*, was at first designed for the Relief of *Dantzick*, and would probably have sailed thither time enough to have prevented the Ruin of that trading *Protestant* City, if it had not been for our extraordinary, and, I think, unnecessary Armament in *Britain*. The honourable Gentleman took Notice, that the *Brest* Fleet did not go to *Dantzick*, and seemed from thence to insinuate, that it was designed against this Country, if the Design had not been prevented by our Preparations; but it is very well known, that it was our Preparations that prevented that Fleet's sailing to *Dantzick*, as it was really design'd; it is very well known, that *Spain* imagined our Fleet was designed for the *Mediterranean*, in Order to prevent their Expedition against *Naples* and *Sicily*, and therefore they insisted upon it, that the *French* Fleet should remain at *Brest*, in Order to watch the Motions of the Fleet we were fitting out. This was, I believe, the true and the only Reason why that Fleet did not sail to the Relief of *Dantzick*; but this was not the only Effect of our voting 20,000 Men for Sea-Service: Neither *France* nor *Spain* could imagine, nor could they, I think, have any Reason to imagine, that we were putting ourselves to such a vast Expence, for no other End but to make a Show at *Spithead* or in the *Downs*; they both began very reasonably to suspect, that we had some Design against them; and, upon this Account, they both began to add to their Naval Preparations; this again, we find, increased our Jealousies and Fears, and produced that memorable Vote of Credit, with which the last Parliament, I may say, expired; and, in Pursuance of that Vote of Credit, we are now told, this Nation has been charged with maintaining 7000 idle Seamen, besides the 20,000 voted by the

the last Session of last Parliament. Thus one unnecessary Expence produced another, and both are now joined together, not only to be continued, but also to produce a third.

However, tho' I am still of Opinion, that 20,000 Men was a Number much greater than was necessary for the Service of the last Year, yet I shall not propose to lessen that Number for the Year ensuing ; but I am really surprised to hear an Augmentation of one half of that Number called for, and that without his Majesty's having signify'd to us, either in his Speech, or by a particular Message, that some Designs were hatching against this Nation in particular, or against the Liberties of *Europe* in general. His Majesty's having made an Addition last Year of 7000 Men, by Virtue of the Powers granted him by last Session of Parliament, cannot be any Argument with me, as a Member of this House, for continuing that Number, unless his Majesty had been pleased to communicate his Reason for making that Addition : As his Majesty has not been pleased to do so, and as I am of Opinion that 20,000 was too great a Number, I must consequently be more strongly convinced, that 27000 was too great a Number ; and as I cannot see that we are in any greater Danger this Year than we were the last, I must therefore be against loading my Constituents with maintaining that additional Number for the Year ensuing.

It may be true, that the *French* and *Spaniards* have continued their Ships of War in Commission ; but if we can rely upon publick News-papers, and these, it seems, are the only Accounts we are to have ; the *French* have dismissed all or most of the Seamen belonging to their *Brest* Squadron ; and neither they nor the *Spaniards* are making any extraordinary Naval Preparations, nor are they fitting out any considerable Squadron at any Port in either of the Kingdoms ; so that we have this Year really less Reason to apprehend any Danger by Sea, than we had the last ; because it cannot now be said, that a foreign Squadron, with a Land Army on Board, is to pass by our very Doors : They may, perhaps, have a little more Command over their Seamen than we have, though I cannot allow they have a great deal, considering our Method of pressing ; but it is not possible for both these Nations joined together, to fit out a Fleet suddenly and privately, stronger than any we can send against it, as long as we have 20,000 Seamen in actual Service ;

for

for it is very well known, that if a Man of War has two Thirds Sailors on Board, and another Third Land-Men, she is always sufficiently mann'd either for Sailing or Fighting; so that from a hot Press among our Coasters, Colliers, and inland Trade, we could in a very few Days increase the Number of Men on Board our Ships of War to 40,000 at least, which is a greater Number than we ever had Occasion for during the last heavy War, 32000 Seamen and 8000 Marines being the greatest Number that was ever provided in any one Year during that War.

Whether the Motives for the present War relate entirely to the Affair of *Poland*, or whether we had any Concern in that Affair, is what I shall not take upon me to determine; but I think it is pretty plain, that the Motives of the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia* could not any Way relate to the Affair of *Poland*; their Motives certainly proceeded chiefly from some late Transactions between the Emperor and them, in which, I believe, we had some Concern: And even with Respect to the Affair of *Poland*, if we give Credit to common Reports, which are the only Grounds of our present Debate, we had some Concern for that too; for it has been confidently reported, that when *Augustus*, late King of *Poland*, was first taken ill, which was a Year or two before his Death, the *French* Court, with which we were then in very good Terms, desired to know of us, whom we inclined to have for Successor to *Augustus*, as King of *Poland*; that we did not then give them any positive Answer, but told them negatively, we did not incline that any *German* Prince should be raised to that Dignity; and that some Time after, there were positive Instructions sent to our Minister in *Poland*, to co-operate with the *French* Minister, in bringing about the Election of King *Stanislaus*: This is only a common Report, and therefore I shall not take upon me to aver the Truth of it; but as the Letters and Instructions sent upon that Occasion to our Minister in *Poland*, were moved for in last Parliament, though a Negative was then put upon it, I hope it will hereafter be comply'd with, in order to clear our Conduct from that Imputation.

To deprive our Neighbours of all Hopes of Success in any of their ambitious Views, is, without Doubt, the most effectual Way to prevent their forming any such, or at least their attempting to put them in Execution: But how is this to be done? It is to be done by a wise and frugal Management of our Affairs in Times of no Danger,

Danger, by avoiding all Occasions of needless Expence, and by reserving our whole Strength for the Day of real Danger : Our Ships of War may soon be fitted out, our Armies may soon be raised and brought into the Field, if we have but Money enough for these Purposes ; but if we have thrown away our Money upon idle and unnecessary Armaments ; if, by vain Fears and ridiculous Apprehensions, we have run ourselves in Debt, or neglected to clear those Mortgages our former Misfortunes had subjected us to, our ambitious Neighbours will look upon us with Contempt, and will certainly conclude, that it is not in our Power to put a Stop to their ambitious Designs. In this View, Sir, is it not evident, that the more Money we spend in unnecessary Armaments, and before the Danger calls upon us, the less able we will be to deprive our Neighbours of the Hopes of Success in any of their ambitious Projects. Neither this Nation, nor the Liberties of *Europe* are, at present, in any apparent and imminent Danger ; but a Time may come, a Conjunction may happen, when we, and perhaps the greatest Part of the World, will be necessarily involved in a most dangerous and a most bloody War : If the present Emperor should die before the Affairs of *Germany* are fully settled, may not every Gentleman foresee what must be the Consequences : The Princes of the Empire all tearing one another to Pieces, and every one of its Neighbours endeavouring to take hold of some Part of the *Austrian* Dominions : The *Turks* attacking it on one Side, the *French* attacking it on the other, and the Ballance of Power in Danger of being lost, let whatever Side be the Conqueror. This, Sir, is an Event that may happen, I hope it never will, but as it is possible, we ought to provide against it ; and for that Reason we ought not to exhaust the Money and the Strength of the Nation in needless Expences or unnecessary Equipments : Whereas we seem pursuing a quite contrary Measure, tho' it be now, with Respect to this Nation, a Time of profound Peace and Tranquility, yet I reckon our Expences for next Year will amount to three or four Millions, which is a most prodigious Expence, a greater Expence than the Nation was put to in any one Year of that heavy War in King *William's* Reign ; for the Expences of that War never exceeded three Millions a Year : And even during the War in Queen *Anne's* Reign, that War which proved so glorious to this Nation, and so

beneficial to every one of our Allies, there never was a greater Number of Seamen provided for by Parliament, than what is now proposed in a Time of profound Peace; for 30,000 Seamen and 8000 Marines, was, as I have already taken Notice, the greatest Number that was provided for by Parliament, in any one Year of that glorious and successful War.

To pretend, *Sir*, that the Preparations we made last Year, or the Powers granted by last Session of Parliament to his Majesty, produced the Acceptation of our good Offices, is something very surprising, especially when we consider what Sort of an Acceptation we have been favour'd with: The Emperor has accepted of our good Offices under this express Provision, that his Acceptance should not be looked on as a passing from those Succours which he insisted on we were obliged to furnish him, by the Treaties now subsisting between us: And the Allies have likewise made their Acceptation conditional; for they have accepted of our good Offices under this express Condition, that we should continue neutral, with respect to the present Disputes between them and the Emperor. Can it be imagined that warlike Preparations were necessary, or that extraordinary Powers granted by Parliament were necessary for producing such limited Acceptations? Can any Man doubt but that we would have obtained such an Acceptation of our good Offices, tho' no such Preparations had ever been made, tho' no such Powers had ever been granted. But even supposing that this Acceptation was produced by the warlike Preparations we made last Year, must not every Man agree, that this conditional limited Acceptation has cost us a terrible Price, when he considers, that it has cost this Nation at least a Million Sterling; and if the Plan we are to offer, in Pursuance of this Acceptation, should at last be rejected, what Benefit, what Honour can we receive from the Expences we have put ourselves to?

For our encouragement to go on with these peaceful Preparations, we are told, that the *Dutch* have joined cordially with us in all our Measures: This I shall not say I am surpris'd at, for it really amazes me. How far they have joined with us in the Tender of good Offices, or in concerting a Plan for a Pacification, I shall not pretend to determine: In this they may, perhaps, have complimented us a little, because it cost them nothing; and they may easily excuse themselves in Case the

the Plan should prove disagreeable to either of the Parties concern'd ; but that they have put themselves to the same Expence we have done, or that they have put themselves to any Expence on Account of the present War, cannot surely with any Justice be pretended. To tell us, that just before the War broke out, one, or perhaps two, of the Seven United Provinces, had come to a Resolution, to reduce 10,000 Men, and to conclude from thence that 20,000 would certainly have been reduced, if the War had not broke out, must appear to be a very extraordinary Sort of Reasoning, to every Man who understands any Thing of the Constitution of that Republick : By their Constitution, every one of the Seven Provinces must have consented, before that Resolution could have taken Effect ; and tho' the interior Provinces, who lie remote from Danger, were perhaps for that Reduction, yet the Frontier Provinces, whose only Defence against sudden Invasions, consists in the Multitude of their fortify'd Towns, the Strength of their Fortifications, and the Numbers of Men in the several Garrisons, would never have consented to such a Reduction ; so that the Resolution taken by one Province, would probably have been of no Effect, even as to the 10,000 ; but to argue from thence, that they would certainly have reduced another 10,000, is really such Reasoning as I am amazed to hear in this House : It really looks as if some Gentlemen thought we wanted only a Pretence for agreeing to what they have a Mind to propose.

'Tis true, the Dutch did, immediately after the Peace of *Utrecht*, reduce their Army to 32,000 Men ; but at that Time they knew, that all the Kingdoms and States of Europe were sick of War ; they could easily foresee, or at least they thought so, that there was not the least Danger of any Rupture for several Years to come ; and therefore their Frontier Provinces then easily consented to that great Reduction ; but considering the vast extensive Frontier they have to guard, and the Multitude of Garrisons they are obliged to keep in their Frontier Towns as well as in the Barrier Towns they have in the *Austrian Netherlands*, such a small Number of regular Troops is almost at all Times inconsistent with the Safety of their State ; and moreover it is, and always was, inconsistent with, and contrary to, the Treaties and Alliances they have both with the Emperor and us ; accordingly, both the Emperor and we complained heavily at that Time, of the great Reduction they had made ;

and this Nation in particular, had like to have suffer'd by it ; for, upon the Rebellion, which broke out soon after in this Kingdom, it is well known, that the *Dutch* could not send us the Quota of Troops which, upon that Occasion, they were obliged by Treaty to send us, 'till we got Troops marched down from *Germany* to replace their Troops, before a Man of them could stir out of the Garrison he belonged to : Nay further, it is very well known, that the Emperor, by Treaty, pays them yearly 5 or 600,000 Crowns out of the first and readiest of his Revenues in the *Netherlands*, in Order to enable them to maintain their Barrier, and to keep at all Times a sufficient Body of Troops in their Service ; so that if they should make any great Reduction in their Army, the Emperor would have very good Reason to stop the Payment of that Subsidy : Upon the whole, we must conclude, that if the *Dutch* had made any Reduction in their Army, and much more the two Reductions talk'd of by the honourable Gentleman, they would have acted contrary to the Treaties subsisting between them and their Allies, and inconsistently with the Safety of their Country ; therefore we ought certainly to presume, that all the Seven Provinces would never have consented to it, though no War had broke out ; and I am apt to believe the Resolution talk'd of, which was a Resolution of the Province of *Holland* only, was a Piece of meer Policy, without any Design that the Resolution should actually take Effect.

Thus I have, I think, made it evident, that the *Dutch* have put themselves to no Expence on Account of the War, no, not even in the Sense the honourable Gentleman was pleased to insist on ; and, indeed, they have not of late seem'd to join cordially with us in any Thing but good Offices, which they are sure can neither put them to any Expence, nor do them any other Injury : Their Treaty of Neutrality, it is certain, they concerted and concluded without our Participation ; and, I believe, without our Privy ; and though they have reserved a Power of sending the stipulated Succours to the Emperor, yet that does not much alter the Case, if we consider what is meant by these Succours.

The Succours there meant, are those stipulated by the late Treaty of *Vienna*, in which we, 'tis true, got them named principal contracting Parties ; but this, to me, seems to have been nothing but a poor Expedient, contrived by some of the Ministers concerned in that Negotiation

tiation, on Purpose to make the World believe, that we did nothing but in Concert with our antient and natural Allies the *Dutch*; for in the negotiating and concluding of that Treaty they were so far from acting cordially, or in Concert with us, that after we had gone at once over Head and Ears into that Treaty, and had thereby obliged ourselves to guaranty the Pragmatick Sanction, *totis viribus*, it was with great Difficulty they were, after a long Negotiation, brought in to accede to that Treaty, tho' we had then a noble Lord at the *Hague* as our Minister, who was as able a Minister, and as good a Negotiator, as any we ever had in any Part of *Europe*; and even at last they were very far from coming plumb into that Treaty or Guaranty; for the Succours they then stipulated, were limited to 4000 Foot and 1000 Horse, or a Number of Ships in Proportion to that Number of Troops, at their own Option; so that we may believe, the *French* gave themselves very little Trouble about admitting that Reserve in the Treaty of Neutrality, afterwards concluded between them and the *Dutch*.

Nay further, notwithstanding this limited Manner of the *Dutch* Accession to the Treaty of *Vienna*, yet so clearly did they foresee the Consequences of that Treaty, that the very next Day after the Accession was sign'd, their Pensionary came to that noble Lord, who was then, as I have said, our Minister at the *Hague*, and proposed to him, to enter with us into a Treaty of Neutrality, not only with Respect to *Flanders*, but also with Respect to several other Countries in *Europe*, about which, Disputes might arise; and, I suppose, upon our neglecting or refusing that Proposition, they afterwards resolved on the Treaty of Neutrality with *France*, and concluded it without letting us into the Secret. Thus, *Sir*, the *Dutch* have, in all their Negotiations, taken particular Care of their own Security, without rashly disobliging any Power in *Europe*; whereas we, by our hasty and inconsiderate Conclusion of the Treaty of *Hanover*, and the Measures thereafter pursued, disobliged both the Emperor and *Spain*, without gaining one Advantage to ourselves; by the Treaty of *Seville*, by which we endeavoured to reconcile ourselves to *Spain*, we still farther disobliged the Emperor, without obtaining any Advantage to ourselves, or even Satisfaction from *Spain* for the Depredations committed upon us; and by the Treaty of *Vienna* we again disobliged *Spain*, and highly affronted *France*, still without obtaining any Advantage for this Nation,

Nation, but, on the contrary, engaging in a very dangerous Guaranty : This, indeed, neither *France* nor any other Power had Reason to be angry at, but *France* had some Reason to be affronted at the Manner in which it was done ; because, by the Treaty of *Hanover*, in which *France* and we were the two principal contracting Parties, both were expressly obliged to enter into no Negotiation or Treaty, without communicating the same to the other.

From what the honourable Gentleman said, about our having reduced 8000 Men, out of the 26000 our Army was increased to, after the late famous Treaty of *Hanover*, he seems to think, that this Nation is always to be loaded with an Army of 18000 at least, even in the Times of the greatest Tranquility ; but I must beg his Pardon to observe, that in a Time of profound Tranquility, an Army of 7 or 8000 Men is not only sufficient, but as great as ought to be kept up in this Nation, if we have a Mind to preserve our Liberties ; and therefore I must conclude, that if this War had not broke out, we would certainly have reduced 10,000 of our regular Troops last Year ; for it is as much inconsistent with the Safety of this Nation to keep up more than 8000 in Time of Peace, as it is inconsistent with the Safety of the *Dutch* to keep less than 52000 ; because we have no Frontier to defend, nor any Garrison to support ; there can be no Reason assigned for our keeping up any greater Number in Time of Peace, unless it be to support a hated Minister, against the Resentments of an injur'd People ; which I hope will never be the Case of this Nation, but if ever it should, I am sure it would then be ridiculous to call ourselves a free People. In this View, let us consider the Charges we have been at on Account of the present War ; we have been at the Charge of this 10,000 Land Forces, which we might otherwise have reduced ; we have been at the Charge of 6 or 7000 Land Forces, which have been added to our former Number ; and if we have at present 27000 Seamen in our Pay, we have been at the Charge of adding no less than 19000 Men to our Naval Force ; so that, if it were true, that the *Dutch* have kept up 20,000 Men, which they intended to have reduced, yet the Expence they have been at would not be equal to what we have been at, nor could it be any Argument for the Augmentation now proposed ; because it is not so much as pretended, that the *Dutch* intend to put themselves

themselves to any greater Charge for the Year ensuing, than they were at in the Year past; and therefore I must think the honourable Gentlemen, who are for the Augmentation proposed, would have done better not to have mentioned the *Dutch* in this Day's Debate; for let them put the Conduct of the *Dutch* in what Light they will, it can no Way answer the present Purpose.

As for that material Question, Whether or no we ought to engage in the present War? It is, indeed, a material Question; but it is a Question which no Gentleman in this House, nor any Man in the Nation, can answer, without being let into the Secret of all our late Treaties and Negotiations. Thus much I shall say, that considering the melancholy Situation of this Country, the great Load of Debts, and the heavy Taxes we already groan under, it is certain we ought not to involve ourselves in War, but in a Case of the extremest Necessity, and 'till that happens, I am very sure, that every Article of Expence ought to be most cautiously avoided, that we may be the more able to support a War, when fatal Necessity drives us into it whether we will or no. If neither the Liberties of *Europe* in general, nor the Interest of this Nation in particular, be in Danger by the present War, we have already gone too far; for besides the great Expence we have put ourselves to, the great Preparations we have made may disappoint and prevent the Effect of those good Offices which his Majesty is employing, for restoring the Peace of *Europe*; because they may give one Side Reason to hope that we are to join with them, which will of Course prevent their hearkening to those Terms of Peace they would otherwise have been glad to have accepted of; or they may give a Jealousy to the other Side, that we are to join against them, which will of Course make them suspect every Thing we can propose, for bringing about an Accommodation.

Besides these Disadvantages, it is certain, that the great Naval Equipment we made last Year, put a very great Damp upon our Trade, and gave all our Neighbours, but more particularly the *Dutch*, a very great Advantage over us: It is true, we exported a great Quantity of Corn last Summer, but that was owing to the Situation and Circumstances of our Country, and not at all to our Management; for while our Merchants were paying double Freight for Ships, and double Wages to Seamen, the *Dutch*, the *Hambourgers*, and all our other

other Rivals in Trade, where carrying on their Trade at the usual Rates, which gave them a great Advantage in every Branch of Trade, more particularly in the Corn Trade, where the usual Freight bears such a great Proportion to the prime Cost : Nay, such a Scarcity was there at last of Seamen in this Kingdom, that our Merchants could not really get Ships to carry out the Cargoes of Corn they had ready to have been exported ; and while a Stop was thus put to our Exportation, the *Dutch* and others, who had by this Time got an Account of the Demand, sent out their Ships, and glutted the Markets for Corn, both in *Spain* and *Portugal*, as well as in *Italy* ; so that if we had not made such a great Naval Equipment, it is certain, a much greater Quantity of our Corn would have been exported than really was.

But if the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, or the particular Interest of this Nation was really in Danger, surely we ought to have engaged at first ; we ought not surely to wait 'till those whose Interest it is to join with us in the Defence of either, be so far disabled as to be rendered incapable either to assist us, or to defend themselves. As to the particular Interest of this Nation, whether it be in Danger or not from the present War, must entirely depend upon our late Negotiations ; and therefore it is, at present, impossible for me to form any Judgment in that Respect, because I am entirely ignorant of our Situation, in so far as relates to our foreign Affairs ; but from our not having joined in the Beginning of the War, I must conclude, that the particular Interest of this Nation is no Way concerned in it ; and therefore I must think it was quite unnecessary to put ourselves to any Charges on that Account.

As for the Ballance of Power, it ought certainly to be preserved : In this, all the other Princes and States of *Europe* are as much, nay more nearly concerned than we, therefore they ought to bear their Share in the Expence, and will certainly do so when they find it necessary ; but if, upon this Pretence, we run ourselves headlong into every Broil that happens in *Europe*, the *Dutch*, as well as the rest, will very probably leave the whole Charge upon us ; they will neglect providing in Time even for their own Defence, when they find us such Dupes, as to be ready, on all Occasions, to make that Provision for them : Whether our late Preparations have given them any Ground to think so, I shall not pretend to determine ; but I look upon the *Dutch* to be a
very

very wise People, I must either conclude that they think so, in which Case we ought not, by any new Augmentation, to encourage them in that Opinion; or I must conclude, that the Ballance of Power is not in any Danger; for though it could be supposed that the chief Magistrates in *Holland* were inclined to sacrifice the Interest or Safety of their Country, to their own Safeties, or their own little private Views; yet if the Ballance of Power were in any Danger, the People would force them to join in the War: The Magistrates of that Republick are not protected either by Riot Acts, or by regular Troops quarter'd in the very Bowels of their Country; and therefore the People might, and certainly would force them to do their Duty, or would massacre them as they have done heretofore: For this Reason I am inclined to think, that the Ballance of Power is not yet in any Danger; and if the Ballance of Power be as yet in no Danger, nor the particular Interest of this Nation in any Danger, there was no Occasion for our being at any Expence on Account of the present War, much less is there any Occasion for our putting ourselves to the Expence of the Augmentation proposed; for which Reason I must be against it.

The Reply made to this, was in Substance as follows:

S I R,

Gentlemen have of late fallen into a Method of departing from the Question in Hand, and throwing out a great many Things no Way relating to the Subject they speak to. This I suppose they do with Design to make an Impression upon some that hear them, and conscious that they cannot convince by Reason, they endeavour to persuade by Oratory, and by flourish'd Expressions no Way relating to the Affair in Dispute: Though it be irregular even to follow them in these Deviations, yet, as such Things ought not to pass without some Sort of Answer, I hope the House will give me Leave to make a few Remarks upon some Things that have been said, notwithstanding their having no Relation to the Affair now before us; but first I shall endeavour to speak to the Question in Hand. The only proper Question now before us I take to be, What is the Number of Seamen necessary for the Security of this Nation during the ensuing Year? Which is a Question that, in my Opinion, no Way relates to our past Conduct, to the Conduct of any of our Allies, nor to the Question, Whether or no we ought to take a Share in the present War?

R r

With

With Relation to the Question now before us, his Majesty has given us, from the Throne, all the Information that is proper or necessary, and all the Information that can, I think, be desired by any Man who wishes well to his Country: He told us at the Beginning of last Session of Parliament, that he was no Way engaged in the present War, nor had any Part, except by his good Offices, in those Transactions, which had been declared to be the Causes and Motives of it; but that he could not sit regardless of the Events of this War, nor could he be unconcerned for the future Consequences of it; and I am sure no Man, who has a Regard to the Welfare of this Nation, or to the Security of his Majesty's Person and Government, can desire he should: At the Beginning of this Session, his Majesty told us, that he is not yet any further engaged, than by employing his good Offices, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, for restoring the Peace of *Europe*; but that his good Offices have not as yet had the desired Effect: We are therefore in the present Question to suppose, that this Nation is not as yet any Way engaged in the War; but as his Majesty has told us the bad Consequences that may arise and affect us, by the War's being carry'd on, are obvious, and they ought certainly to be provided against, let the Charge be what it will. Where Facts are notoriously known to the whole World, where Consequences are obvious to every Man of common Capacity, surely Gentlemen do not expect that his Majesty, either in his Speech, or by particular Message, should give this House a long and particular Detail of such Facts, or of such Consequences; the bare Mention of them is enough, and that his Majesty has sufficiently done, both at the Beginning of the last, and at the Beginning of the present Session of Parliament.

The Ballance of Power in *Europe*, may, perhaps, not be as yet in Danger; nay, we are to suppose it is not in Danger; for if it were, his Majesty would certainly have acquainted his Parliament with it, and we should have been now providing for a vigorous War, instead of providing only for our Security and Defence. Both Parties, as yet, profess their sincere Disposition to put an End to the present Troubles, upon honourable and solid Terms, and these Professions may at present be truly sincere; but the Events of War may make them alter their Professions, or may render their Professions insincere; and these Events may be so sudden and so extraordinary,

extraordinary, that without our joining immediately in the War, one of the Parties engaged may be utterly undone: Two or three signal and entire Victories might, in a few Months, have such Consequences, as might put it out of our Power to relieve the Party conquer'd, or to stem the Torrent of Success on the Side of the Conqueror; and I am sure it cannot be pretended, that in a few Months we could raise and discipline such Armies, and fit out such Fleets as would be necessary, both for the Defence of our own Dominions, and for assisting effectually the Party in Danger of being quite undone: Armies, 'tis true, may be soon raised; but according to the exact Discipline now observed, it requires many Months before those Armies can be made fit for Service, or proper to engage against an Army of veteran well-disciplin'd Troops; and I shall likewise grant, that our Ships of War may be mann'd with one Third Land-Men or Marines; but even these Land-Men or Marines must be some Time on Board, before they can either know or perform their Duty in the fighting of a Ship; for, I believe a Man of War, with a third Part of her Men just taken from the Plough, would make but a poor Figure against a Ship of equal Force, provided with able Sailors, and well disciplin'd Marines: For this Reason, when the Affairs of *Europe* are brought to such a Crisis, that an unlucky Accident may render it absolutely necessary for us to engage immediately, and without Delay, in the War, I must think it is incumbent upon us to provide in Time, in Order to have a sufficient Number of well-disciplined Men, both for Sea and Land Service, so ready and so much at Command, as to enable us to perform immediately that Part, which a sudden emergency may make requisite, both for our own Safety and the Safety of *Europe*; and this cannot be done but by Augmentations timely made, both to our Fleets and Armies.

As the Preservation of the Ballance of Power is of so much Consequence to this Nation, and so intimately connected with our Safety, it is very certain, that whatever Power in *Europe* may project the overturning of that Ballance, that Power must expect to have *Great Britain* for her Enemy, as soon as her Project comes to be discover'd; we may therefore be assured, that when any one of the Powers of *Europe* begins to entertain such an ambitious View, they will of Course endeavour to make a Diversion, by invading this Island, and this they will

the more readily attempt, because we have always a strong Party among us, who are ready to second any foreign Attempts, for the Accomplishment of their own selfish Views, especially if at any Time they find us not properly provided for our own Defence. Because one of our neighbouring Powers is engaged in War with another, we are not from thence to conclude, that neither of them will make any Attempts upon this Island; for if either of the Parties engaged in War, has really a Design to overturn the Ballance of Power, they will certainly conceal that Design, and endeavour to cover it with Professions of Justice and Moderation as long as they can; but when they find they can conceal it no longer, when they find we begin to smoke what they aim at, can we believe that they will wait 'till we attack them, or join with their Enemies against them? On the contrary, ought we not to expect that they will endeavour to divert us, by giving us some Business at Home; and how do we or can we know but this may be the Case at present? Ought not we therefore to provide against such Attempts in Time, that we may be at Liberty to do our Duty, when we find the Ballance of Power is really the Thing struck at?

Gentlemen cannot, it seems, distinguish, or at least, I find they will not, distinguish between Events which might have happen'd, and Events which, by proper Precautions, were, perhaps, prevented and kept from happening: If by not providing in Time for our Defence, some signal Misfortune should happen to the Nation, such Men would then have a just Reason for finding Fault with those employ'd in the Administration; and if any such Thing had lately happen'd, I do not doubt but that it would have been propagated with great Industry, that our Surprise had been entirely owing to the two blundering Brothers; but when all such Accidents are prevented by the prudent Measures that have been pursued, and by making seasonable and proper Provisions for our Defence, then it is pretended we never were in any Danger, and from thence they take Occasion to find Fault with the Expences that have been wisely and necessarily incurr'd, by the making of such seasonable and proper Provisions; and thus, Sir, some Gentlemen will always find plausible Pretences for decrying those Measures that have been pursued, let them be what they will. However, I shall always think they act the best and the wisest Part, who choose to give us
Time

Time and Leisure to roast them in this House, for their expensive and extravagant Measures, rather than to have our Attention diverted from them by a Civil War kindled up, or a foreign Army actually landed in the Island; and when a War was broke out, in which this Nation might very probably be involved; when our Neighbours, and those Neighbours too from whom we have most to fear, were leading out great Armies, and fitting out powerful Squadrons, I must think that it was at least prudent in us to make those Provisions for our Security which were made last Year; and as we are in the greater Danger of being involv'd, the longer the War continues, I cannot be against the small Augmentation now proposed.

To pretend to tell us, what *France* and *Spain* intended to have done last Year, or to pretend to tell us what they intend to do this next Year with the Ships of War they have continu'd in Commission, is, I think, something extraordinary. We may, perhaps, guess at some of their Designs, but I shall always think it very imprudent, to leave the Peace and Quiet of this Nation to depend upon such Guess-work, especially when we consider, that they have no Occasion to fit out any great Fleet against any Power of *Europe* but ourselves; and therefore it is not to be presumed, that they would put themselves to such a great Expence, unless they were suspicious that the Measures they have resolved to pursue, may probably make this Nation engage against them; and in such a Case, I think it is natural to believe, they would take the first Opportunity to invade or disturb us: They have such an absolute Command over all the Seamen of their Country, they have always such Numbers of regular Troops on their Coasts, or within a few Days March of their Seaports, that when they have their Ships ready equipt and fit for sailing, it would be easy for them to clap Seamen and Land Forces on Board, and they might arrive on the Coasts of this Kingdom, before it would be possible for us to man and fit out a Fleet sufficient to engage them, if we had not made some extraordinary Provision before-hand: This every Man must be convinced of, who knows the Difficulty we had to procure Seamen for the Squadron we fitted out last Summer, notwithstanding the long Time we had to look for them, and the Method of Pressing, which we were then obliged to make Use of. Nor does it signify to tell us, that at this Rate we shall always be obliged to fit out Squadrons,

Squadrons, and put ourselves to a great Expence, whenever any of our Neighbours begin to fit out one; for I take it to be a right Maxim, I really think we ought to prepare and fit out a Squadron, whenever we see any of our Neighbours doing so, unless we very well know the Purposes their Squadron is designed for; the Expence bestowed on fitting out a Squadron, may be an Expence to the Publick, but it is little or no Loss to the Nation; the whole is expended among our own People, and it not only improves our Seamen, by making them acquainted with the Service on Board a Man of War, but it increases their Number; for every Fleet we fit out, encourages a Number of Landmen to engage in the Sea-Service; whereas, if by neglecting to do so, the Nation should be invaded, and a Civil War kindled up, the Nation would in that Case suffer a real Loss, a Loss which might far surmount the Expence the Publick could be put to by fitting out twenty Squadrons; so that the Nation may suffer by neglecting this Maxim, but it can never suffer by observing it.

I shall readily grant, that this Nation would be more formidable, if we ow'd no publick Debts, and had the same Fleet and the same regular Army we have at present; but if we had no Squadron ready to put to Sea, nor any regular Troops ready to take the Field, I cannot admit that we would then be so formidable as we are at present, even though we did not owe a Shilling in the World. We all know, that what now makes a Nation formidable, is not the Number nor the Riches of its Inhabitants, but the Number of Ships of War provided with able Seamen, and the Number of regular well disciplin'd Troops they have at Command; and whatever Gentlemen may think of the Acceptation of his Majesty's good Offices, I am persuaded they would not have been so readily accepted, if the Parties had not seen us preparing to do them bad Offices, in Case they had refused to accept of our good.

The accepting of our good Offices, will at least furnish us with an Opportunity of making ourselves better acquainted with the Views of all the Parties concern'd, and there is no condition annexed by either Party, but what was and must have been understood when we made the Offer; for surely, when we offered the Interposition of our good Offices, we were not to suppose, that the Emperor was, by his Acceptance, to pass from any Demand he thought he had upon us, nor were we to sup-

pose,

pose, that the Allies would or could accept of our good Offices, unless we continued neutral ; and while we do so, our Preparations can give no Encouragement to either Side to insist upon unreasonable Terms, nor can they give the least Jealousy to either Side, unless one or t'other have Views, which they know to be inconsistent with the Preservation of the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.

I find, Sir, some Gentlemen have got into a very odd Way of talking, when they have Occasion to mention the publick Expence ; for if it in the least exceeds a Million, it is to be called two ; if it exceeds two, it is to be called three ; and because it may probably this Year a little exceed three Millions, therefore it is to be called four ; so that a Million with these Gentlemen, seems to be of very little Consideration ; yet, when we talk of *English* Money, I cannot but think, that a Million, or near a Million, is a Sum not to be despised, and one in four is certainly a very material Difference. What the publick Expence was, during the War in King *William's* Reign, or what the Number of Seamen was, that was kept up during the late War, I shall not now enquire ; I believe both were as the honourable Gentleman has been pleased to represent ; but I think neither material at present ; for we are not to proportion our yearly Expence, or our Number of Seamen, by past Times, but by present Necessities : When our Neighbours increase their publick Expence, or their Number either of Seamen or Land Soldiers, we must increase ours, otherwise we may happen to fall a Sacrifice to our Frugallity ; and as both *France* and *Spain*, but especially the latter, have very much increased their Naval Force since last War, if we should be obliged to engage against those two Powers, which I hope will not be the Case, it is certain we would be obliged to maintain a greater Number of Seamen than we had at any Time during the late War, and the sooner we begin to provide, the less Harm will we do our Merchants, the less Stagnation will we make in our Trade.

This naturally leads me to take Notice of the Damage done to our Trade, by the sitting out of a Squadron last Summer. I shall allow, that our Merchants thereby suffer'd some Inconvenience, and were put to a greater Charge than usual, for the Freight of Ships and Wages of Seamen ; but when the whole is in Danger, the private Interest of particular Persons must yield to it ; and the Stop that was put to our Trade last Summer, is, in
my

my Opinion, the strongest Argument that can be thought of for the Augmentation now proposed, and for our laying it down as a Maxim, always to begin early to fit out Squadrons, as soon as the Danger of War begins to appear; for if we should never think of any Augmentation of Seamen till we come upon the very Brink of a War, we must take or press thirty or perhaps 40,000 Seamen all at once in the Service of the Publick; and if the raising of twelve or 15,000 Seamen last Summer put such a Damp upon our Trade, surely the raising of thirty or 40,000 all at once would put an entire Stop to it; whereas, if we begin early, and raise our Seamen by Degrees, fresh Men, encouraged by the high Wages, will be daily entering into the Merchants Service, those that enter this Year will be good Seamen against next, and thus every Year will afford a new Fleece for the Navy, so that in a little Time we may have our Navy fully provided, even for the most heavy War, without putting at any Time any great Stop to our Trade.

As for the *Dutch*, Sir, I do not think it necessary to enter into a Disquisition about what they have done, what they ought to do, or what Number of Land Forces may be necessary for the Safety of their Republick? For tho' they are our natural Allies, yet surely we are not in every Thing to be directed altogether by their Conduct: We are a distinct Nation; tho' our Interests be generally the same, yet in some particular Cases they may happen to be different; and when it so happens we must certainly follow different Measures. The *Dutch* are, 'tis true, a wise People, but for as wise as they are, they may perhaps neglect or mistake their own Interest, as well as the general Interest of *Europe*, and if they do so, must we necessarily do the same? I hope no such Thing will be pretended; for in such a Case we would become in some Manner a Province of *Holland*, we would become a meer Cypher in all publick Transactions, and would be no way regarded by any of the Powers of *Europe*; for if they could but secure the *Dutch*, they might always depend upon getting us into the same Measure, and when the *Dutch* found we had such a thorough Dependance upon them, for as good Allies as they are, they might perhaps, now and then, make Use of it in a Way which would no Way contribute either to our Interest or Honour.

Permit me now, Sir, to take some Notice of the Reflections that have been thrown out upon our late Negotiations

tations and Treaties. As for the Treaties of *Hanover* and *Seville*, we had certainly very good Reasons to enter into them at the Time they were negotiated and concluded; and as they were both approved by both Houses of Parliament, I think I have no Call to say any Thing in Favour of either; for the Approbation of a *British* Parliament I take to be a more authentick Proof of their Utility, than any Thing that can be said by a private Gentleman in their Commendation, and all the Objections to them have been already so often answered, that 'tis needless to repeat them: But when Gentlemen give us such a terrible View of the Consequences that may ensue, in Case the present Emperor should happen to die before the Affairs of *Germany* are fully settled, I am surprised to hear them find Fault with the late Treaty of *Vienna*, which was concluded for no other End but to prevent that fatal Catastrophe: Fatal it certainly would be to the Affairs of *Europe* in general, and therefore I must think we had the strongest Inducement to enter into the Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction, in the most unlimited Manner, as being the only Expedient by which that fatal Catastrophe may be prevented. What Reasons the *Dutch* might have for their Backwardness or Caution about entering into that Treaty, I do not know; but if I were to judge of their Wisdom from their Behaviour in that Respect, I cannot say I should have the best Opinion of it.

With regard to the Attack made upon the Emperor in *Italy*, by the *Spaniards* and the King of *Sardinia*, it is certain, that this Nation has neither given them any Encouragement nor any Provocation to do so; and whether the Imperial Court has given them any just Provocation, is an Affair which the Mediators must of Course enquire into, when they come to offer a Plan for a Pacification. As to the Affair of *Poland*, where the Hon. Gentleman had his Information, with respect to what he has been pleased to relate to us about that Affair, I shall not pretend to guess; but I must believe, that his Majesty knows nothing about any such Answer's having ever been given to the *French*, or about any such Instructions having been sent to his Minister in *Poland*: This I must believe from what his Majesty told us in his Speech, at the opening of last Session of Parliament; and if there ever was any such Thing, I am very sure that I am not to answer for all the Measures that have been lately pursued, for that is one I know nothing about.

To conclude, *Sir*, the Nation has already been put to a great Expence, and must be yet put to a farther Expence on Account of the present War; perhaps too some private Men may have been exposed to some Inconveniencies, by the Preparations we have already made; but these Expences and these Inconveniencies ought to be born with Patience, when we consider the Difference between our Situation and that of our Neighbours: I believe I may justly compute, that by the bloody and obstinate Battles, Sieges and Skirmishes, which have already happened since this War first broke out, each of the Parties engaged has lost at least 50,000 Men; so that while the Trade of our Neighbours is interrupted, while a Stop has been put to all Sorts of Manufacturers and Improvements among them, while their Lands are laid waste, and such Multitudes of their Men destroyed, we have carried on our Trade with Security, our Manufactures have been improved, and extraordinary Quantities of our Corn exported; no *British* Farmer has been disturbed, not an Acre of *British* Land laid waste, nor a Drop of *British* Blood Spilt: Therefore, while we enjoy so much Safety and Quiet, I cannot think any Man has Reason to complain of the Charge the Nation has been put to, or of the few Inconveniencies he has suffered, for the Preservation of that Safety and Quiet which he has enjoyed; and as I am fully satisfied, that what is now proposed is absolutely necessary, for securing our future Enjoyment of the same Safety and Quiet, I shall most heartily give my Consent.

According to the Method of proceeding in the House, when two different Numbers, or two different Sums are proposed to be granted by Parliament, the Question is always first put for the smallest Number or Sum, and therefore in this Case the Question was first put for 20,000 Seamen, which, upon a Division, was carried in the Negative, 256 to 183. Then the Question was put for the 30,000, which was carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

The chief Speakers in this Debate were, for the 30,000 Men, *Sir R——t W——le*, *H——o W——le*, *Esq*; and *J——es O——pe*, *Esq*; and the chief Speakers for the 20,000 Seamen, were *Sir J——n B——d*, *Sir W——m W——m*, *W——m P——y*, *Esq*; the *M——r* of the *R——lls*, and *R——t W——t*, *Esq*; After this Resolution was agreed to, the House came to a second Resolution, as usual, That 4 *l. per Man, per Month*, should be

be allow'd for maintaining the said 30,000 Seamen, for thirteen Months, including the Ordnance for Sea-Service.

On *Thursday* the 13th Day of *February*, a Motion was made in the House of Commons, That an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give Directions to the proper Officer or Officers, to lay before that House an Account of the Expences incurred, in Consequence and by Virtue of the Vote of Credit and Confidence, which was passed in that House towards the End of last Session of Parliament.

To this Motion it was objected, That the House had then before them what was proposed to be desired by the Address moved for; for in one Account they had the whole of the Expences that had been incurred by any Addition made to the Sea-Service, in Consequence of that Vote of Credit; in another they had an Account of the whole Expences that had been incurred by any Addition made to the Land-Service; and in a third they had an Account of what had been incurred on Occasion of the Treaty lately concluded with *Denmark*: Besides all which, they had an Account of what Moneys had been issued from the Treasury for all or either of these Services, in pursuance of a Clause in an Act of Parliament, pass'd last Session, for enabling his Majesty to apply any Part of the Money granted for the Service of last Year, towards the Expence of making such Augmentations of his Forces by Sea or Land, or of concerting such other Measures as he should judge necessary for the Safety of this Nation. That from these Accounts any Man might easily see what Expences had been incurred in Consequence of that Vote of Credit; for that as to the Sea-Service, whatever appeared from that Account to have been incurred, over and above what was granted by last Parliament, for maintaining the 20,000 Seamen then voted for last Year's Service, must appear to be an additional Expence, incurred in Consequence of that Vote of Credit; as to the Land-Service, whatever appear'd from the Account then before them relating to that Service, to have been incurred over and above what was granted by last Parliament, for maintaining the 17,704 Land-Forces then voted to be kept up in *Great Britain*, *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, for last Year, must be an additional Expence incurred, in Consequence of that Vote of Credit: And as to what had been incurred on Occasion of the late Treaty with *Denmark*, it was certain, the whole was to be placed to the

Account of the Expences incurred, in Consequence of that Confidence and Credit, which was so reasonably and so necessarily vested in his Majesty by last Session of Parliament; so that they could not possibly expect any further or new Accounts by the Address proposed; and the presenting of such an Address would, in their Opinion, shew a Want of Respect to his Majesty, and a Sort of Jealousy and Diffidence in what he had already order'd to be laid before them.

Upon this Objection being made, it was proposed to add these Words, *viz. over and above those of which Accounts had already been laid before that House*, by Way of Amendment to the Motion.

But this did not satisfy the Gentlemen who were against the Motion, and therefore it was objected further, That it was not to be supposed that any other Expences had been incurred than those contained in the Accounts then before them, That they could assure Gentlemen that no Moneys had been issued from the Treasury by Virtue of the Clause they had mentioned, but what were stated in the Account already laid before the House; nor had any Expences been incurred but what were contained in the three Accounts relating to the Sea-Service, the Land-Service, and the late Treaty with Denmark: That the presenting of such an Address was really in some Manner provoking the Crown to make further Demands upon them; and that if what was then proposed should come to be a Precedent, it would become necessary for the Crown to add a Certificate to every Account to be given in hereafter to Parliament, certifying, that *these are all the Expences that have been incurred*, or some such Words to that Purpose, which they thought would look a little absurd: That therefore they could not agree to the Amendment, but when it was disagreed to (as they hoped it would) they would propose that the following Words should be added, by Way of Amendment to the Motion, to wit, *notwithstanding that full Accounts of all Expences that had been incurred had been already laid before that House*: This, they said, was the most natural Amendment that could be made to the Motion, because by the Addition of these Words it would appear in its proper and true Light, and in that Light they were persuaded the House would not agree to it.

To this it was answered, That they could not but think the Motion, as it stood at first, was a very proper Motion, because it would be much better and more *direct*

finest, to have all these Expences fairly and fully stated in one Account, than to have them dispersed in several Accounts, and confounded with a great many other Articles; and this Method of stating those Expences would be attended with this Advantage, that it would shew to Gentlemen, how sparing his Majesty had been in making Use of that unlimited Credit given him by last Session, which would be a great Inducement to that House to renew that Credit, whenever his Majesty should please to demand it: This they thought they had Reason to hope, the Hon. Gentlemen would not have obstructed; because it might perhaps be of great Advantage to them upon some future Occasion; but as those Gentlemen did not seem to like that Way of stating the Account, therefore they were willing to make the Amendment proposed to their Motion, in Order to prevent a Negative's being put upon a Question of such Moment.

That they hoped no Expences had been incurred, in Consequence of that Vote of Confidence and Credit, but what appear'd upon the several Accounts then before them; but it would be a great Satisfaction to the House, to have a direct Answer upon that Subject from the Crown; for tho' they were persuaded that the Gentlemen who had taken upon them to assure the House, that no Expences had been incurred, or Moneys issued but what were contained in these Accounts, really believed it to be as they had declared; yet in such Cases that House was not to take an Answer from any Member; were he the greatest Man in the House, or the greatest Subject in the Nation, his Word or his Declaration was no parliamentary Satisfaction, nor could it be taken as such.

That with respect to the Certificate mentioned, it was, in the present Case, so far from being absurd, that it was absolutely necessary; When certain Sums were granted by Parliament, and those Sums appropriated by Parliament to certain Uses, such a Certificate would, 'twas true, be quite unnecessary, it would be ridiculous to insist upon any such; but when an unlimited Credit has been granted by Parliament, and that Credit unlimited likewise as to the Uses it was to be applied to, it was absolutely necessary to have a Certificate in the Manner mentioned by the hon. Gentlemen, certifying that such Sums, and no more had been taken up upon that Vote of Credit; and that the Sums so taken up had been applied to such Uses, and none other; for without such a Certificate it would be impossible for that House to know how
the

the Accounts of the Nation stood ; they could not know but every succeeding Year might bring in a new Demand, to provide for some Expence incurred or some Debt contracted, in Consequence of the unlimited Credit they had formerly given ; therefore it was incumbent upon them, as Members of that House, to demand such a Certificate, they were bound in Honour, and in Duty to their Constituents, to insist upon having such a Certificate, and such a Certificate could not be had any other Way than by presenting the Address proposed.

That as to the Amendment intended to be added by the worthy Gentleman, in Order to make their Question appear ridiculous upon the Journals of that House, it did not at all deter them from insisting upon their Question, nor from insisting upon the Amendment they had proposed: That they had no Cause to suspect, that That House would agree to the Amendment intended by the worthy Gentleman: But if they had, it would give them no Pain; for whatever that House might do, the World without Doors would judge rightly, and would fix the Ridicule where it properly belonged: But they would, upon that Occasion, put the Gentleman in Mind of what appeared upon their Journals: They remembered a certain great Man was, in a former Parliament, accused of some very high Crimes, and a Question was actually moved and seconded in that House for a Resolution in these Terms, *That it appears to this House, that (such a great Man naming him) had been guilty of several heinous and fraudulent Practices in, &c.* That this was the Question first moved ; but the Friends of that great Man, in Order to defeat the Question by rendering it ridiculous, proposed that the Words (*it appears to this House*) should by Way of Amendment be left out of the Question: That upon a Division the Amendment was approved of by a corrupt Majority, and that the Question so made ridiculous by the Amendment, stood to that Day upon their Journals, as the worthy Gentleman might see if he pleased ; but that the thus rendering the Question ridiculous, was far from rendering ridiculous those who had first proposed it; On the contrary, the Ridicule fell upon those who made the Question ridiculous by their Amendment, and accordingly at the Elections for the very next Parliament, most of them were neglected by their Country, and justly refused the Honour of continuing any longer the Representatives of the People in that House.

The Question being at last put upon the Amendment, it was, upon a Division, carried in the Negative, 167 to 106.

Both the Question and the Amendment were proposed by S——l S——ys, Esq; and supported chiefly by W——m P——y, Esq; and Sir W——m W——m. The chief Speakers against both were H——o W——le, Esq; H——y P——m, Esq; Sir W——m Y——ge, Col. B——n, T——s W——n, Esq; and J——ph D——rs, Esq;

After the Division upon this Amendment H——y P——m, Esq; moved to adjourn, which brought on a short Debate about Order, because it was said, that when a Question had been moved, and for some Time debated, the House was so much in the Possession of it, that it could not be put off by Adjournment, without an unanimous Consent: But Mr. S——r declared, that according to the general Opinion, the Rule mentioned was to be observed at all Times before four o'Clock in the Afternoon; but after that Hour, tho' a Question had been for some Time debated, it was thought it might be put off by Adjournment, without any unanimous Consent: Whereupon the Question was put for adjourning, which was carried in the Affirmative without a Division.

The rest of the Debates shall be inserted in due Time.



F I N I S.

THE JOURNAL OF THE

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR 1912

CHICAGO, ILL., 1912

Published by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Subscription price, \$5.00 per annum in advance.

Single copies, 15 cents.

Entered as second-class matter, June 26, 1907, under post office number 383, at Chicago, Ill., under special permission of the post office and inspection service.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 1, 1918.

Postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices.

Copyright, 1912, by American Medical Association.

Printed by the American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

Volume 45, Number 1, January, 1912.

Published weekly, except on holidays.

Subscription orders, notices of change of address, and other communications should be sent to the publisher, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Claims for missing issues will only be considered if made immediately on receipt of succeeding issue.

Entered as second-class matter, June 26, 1907, under post office number 383, at Chicago, Ill., under special permission of the post office and inspection service.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 1, 1918.

Postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices.

Copyright, 1912, by American Medical Association.

Printed by the American Medical Association, Chicago, Ill.

Volume 45, Number 1, January, 1912.

Published weekly, except on holidays.

THE
Chronological Diary
For the Year 1735.

CONTAINING

The most remarkable Transactions
and Events, as well Civil as Military,
and Domestick as Foreign, *viz.* Re-
movals, Promotions, Births, Deaths,
Marriages, &c. that happen'd during
the Course of that Year.



L O N D O N :

Printed by S. NEVILL in the *Old Baily*. 1735.

THE

OF THE

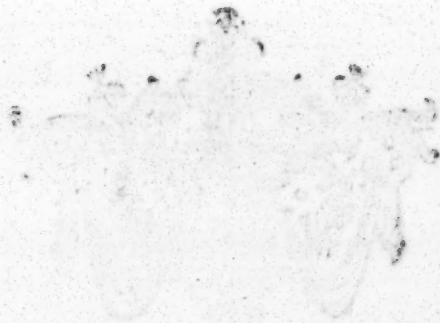
OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE



LONDON

PRINTED BY

T H E

Chronological Diary, &c.

Omitted in the last Diary, towards the End of the Year 1734.

D E C E M B E R.

Preferments.

THE Right Hon. George Earl of *Granard*; Rear Admiral of the White, appointed Rear Admiral of the Red.

Nicholas Haddock, Esq; Rear Admiral of the Blue, appointed Rear Admiral of the White.

Capt. Hagar, appointed Rear Admiral of the Blue.

Martin Benson, D.D. made Bishop of *Gloucester*.

Thomas Secker, LL.D. Rector of *St. James Westminster*, made Bishop of *Bristol*.

The Right Hon. the Lord *Vere Beauclerc*, Brother to the Duke of *St. Alban's*, made first Commissioner of the Navy.

George Purvis, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Aldborough* in *Suffolk*, made a Commissioner of the Navy.

Mr. Hoadley, Son to the Bishop of *Winchester*, appointed by his Father to be Chancellor of that Diocese. *q/3*

Capt. Thomas, made Major of Colonel *Harrison's* Regiment of Foot.

Sir John Gonson appointed Colonel of the second Regiment of Tower Hamlets.

Earl of *Crawford* made Colonel of a Regiment in the Leeward Islands.

James Compton, Esq; made Captain of the Sea-Horse Man of War.

Capt. Digby Dent, appointed Commodore of the Squadron for the *West-Indies*.

Sir William Ashburnham made Receiver of the Alienation-Office.

The Lord Chancellor chosen Vice-President of the Hospital at *Hyde Park* Corner.

Earl *Cowper* chosen Mayor of *Fordwich*.

Earl of *Cholmondeley* appointed Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Chester*, *Cardigan*, *Carmarthen*, *Glamorgan*, and *North Wales*.

List of the Sheriffs for the Year 1735.

Bedfordshire	Thomas Groom, Esq;
Berkshire	Henry Tompkins, Esq;
Buckingham	John Ware, Esq;
Cambr' and Hunt'	Richard Daston, Esq;
Cheshire	Trafford Barnston, Esq;
Cumberland	Fletcher Partis, Esq;
Derbyshire	Francis Sitwell, Esq;
Devonshire	Nicholas Hooper, Esq;
Dorsetshire	Thomas Skinner of Dewlish, Esq;
Essex	Thomas Ambrose, Esq;
Gloucestershire	Thomas Lingen, Esq;
Herefordshire	Robert Mynes, Esq;
Hertfordshire	Thomas Rolt of Sacombe, Esq;
Kent	Bladwin Duppa, jun. Esq;
Leicestershire	Robert Willson of Heythorp, Esq;
Lincolnshire	Robert Lycheford, Esq;
Monmouthshire	Richard Lewis, Esq;
Norfolk	George Smith, Esq;
Northamptonshire	Thomas Langton, Esq;
Northumberland	Henry Ellison, Esq;
Nottinghamshire	Thomas Lister, Esq;
Oxfordshire	Sebastian Smythe, Esq;
Rutlandshire	Thomas Tomlyn, Esq;
Shropshire	Sherrington Davenport, Esq;
Somersetshire	Joseph Langton of Newton, Esq;
Southampton	Robert Graham, Esq;
Staffordshire	John Hodgets, Esq;
Suffolk	John Reynolds, Esq;
Surry	John Copeland, Esq;
Sussex	William Stone of Peefmarch, Esq;
Warwickshire	Robert Parker, Esq;
Wiltshire	William Vylett, Esq;
Worcestershire	Edward Moore, Esq;
Yorkshire	Francis Barlow of Middlethorp, Esq;

W A L E S.

Brecknock	Evan Williams, Esq;
Carmarthen	Thomas Baven, Esq;
Cardigan	William Bridgstock, Esq;
Glamorgan	Grant Gibbon, Esq;
Pembroke	Weriot Owen, Esq;
Radnor	John Clarke, Esq;
Garnarvon	William Wynne of Wern, Esq;

Denbigh

Denbigh	Hum. Parry of Sutton Green, Esq;
Flint	Thomas Griffith, Esq;
Merioneth	Robert Vaughan, Esq;
Montgomery	Thomas Brown, Esq;
Anglesea	——— Roberts, Esq;

Marriages.

The Hon. Robert Byng, Esq; Brother to the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Torrington, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, and Member of Parliament for Plymouth, marry'd to the Daughter of Jonathan Forward, Esq; a Virginia Merchant.

Mr. Jacob Pereyra, to Miss De-Costa, a Fortune of 10,000*l.*

Thomas Anderson of Bloomsbury, Esq; to Miss Martha Dowglass of Great Ormond-street, with a Fortune of 10,000*l.*

John Falmouth of Putney, Esq; to Miss Bagnal of Rotherhampton, a Fortune of 10,000*l.*

William Peer Williams, jun. Esq; to Miss Seignoret, a Fortune of 40,000*l.*

——— Stewart, Esq; presumptive Heir to the Family of Murray, to the Countess Dowager of Aboyne.

Capt. Vaughan, Brother the Lord Viscount Lisburne, to Miss Lyddell.

Jonathan Cotton, Esq; to Miss Maidstone of Clapham, a Fortune of 10,000*l.*

Births.

The Hon. Mrs. Spencer, third Daughter to the Lord Carteret, and Wife to the Hon. John Spencer, Esq; Brother to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, safely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady Bond, Relict of Sir Thomas Bond, Bart. brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of Sir John Heathcote, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady Anne Conolly, Wife of the Right Hon. William Conolly, Esq; safely deliver'd of a Son at Dublin. She was Daughter to the Earl of Strafford.

The Lady Frances Meadows, Sister to his Grace the Duke of Kingston, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of Denzil Onslow, Esq; Receiver-General of the Post-Office, deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of the Hon. Henry Pelham, Esq; safely brought to Bed of a Daughter.

Omit-

Omitted in the Month of November.

Dy'd, the Right Hon. ~~James~~ Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn in Scotland, and Viscount Mountcastle and Baron of Strabane in Ireland, aged 74.

DECEMBER.

Deaths.

The Lady Wywill, Wife of Sir Marmaduke Wywill, Bart.

The Hon. Henry Bertie, Esq; 2d Son of Montagu Earl of Lindsey, and Uncle to the Earl of Abington.

Sir George Saunders, Kt. Rear Admiral of the Red, first Commissioner of the Navy, Member of Parliament for Queenborough, and one of the Governors of the Charity for the Relief of the poor Sea-Officers Widows.

Mr. Peter Tillemans, a famous Painter of Antwerp, dy'd at Norton in Suffolk.

Abigail Lady Masham, Wife of the Right Hon. Lord Masham of Otes in Essex.

Mr. James Figg, the famous Prize-Fighter.

Sir Humphry Briggs of Shropshire, Bart.

Mr. John Burnet, a Farmer, in the House where he was born, at Broadwater in Sussex, aged 106; he marry'd six Wives, three of them after he was 100.

Mr. Miller the tall Saxon, aged 60 Years; he was shew'd in all the Courts of Europe, being seven Foot eight Inches without his Shoes.

Mr. Philips, Author of several Dramatick Pieces.

John Barrington Shute, Lord Barrington of Newcastle in the County of Dublin, and Viscount Barrington of Ardglass in the County of Down in the Kingdom of Ireland; so created June 11, 1720, 7 George I. In the Year 1714, he was elected a Member of Parliament for the Town of Berwick upon Tweed, for which Town he was also elected a Member in the next Parliament, but expell'd the House of Commons on Account of the Undertaking call'd The Hambourgh Lottery in 1720: He was a Candidate for the said Town at the last Election, against the Lord Polworth, but lost the Election by a Majority of Four. Between 20 and 30 Years ago, John Wildman of Becket, Esq; settled his large Estate on him, tho' no Relation, and had but little Acquaintance with him; having always resolv'd, as is express'd on his Monument in Shrivenham Church, To adopt some Person his Heir, according to the Method of the Romans. Some Years after, another considerable Estate was left him by Mr. Barrington of Essex;

Essex; whereupon he took that Name by Act of Parliament, his former Name being *Shute*. His Lordship was the Author of a Book entitled, *Miscellanea Sacra*; and also of *An Essay on the several Dispensations of God to Mankind*; and of several Pamphlets in Favour of the Dissenters. His Lordship marry'd *Anne*, Daughter and Coheir to Sir *William Daines* of *Bristol*, Kt. by whom he left nine Children now living, and is succeeded in Honour and Estate by his eldest Son, *William-Wildman*, now Lord Viscount *Barrington*.

Sir *Robert Kemp*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Suffex*. He had four Wives, and is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his eldest Son, now Sir *Robert Kemp*.

Sir *Brian Cooke* of *Wheatley* in *Yorkshire*, Bart. He marry'd *Priscilla*, Daughter and Coheir of *Robert Squire*, Esq; by whom he had two Sons and three Daughters, and is succeeded in Title and Estate by his eldest Son, now Sir *George Cooke*.

The famous Mr. *Clench* of *Barnet*, aged 70.

The Right Hon. *Anne* Countess of *Murray* in *Scotland*, aged 76; she was eldest Daughter to *Archibald* Earl of *Argyll*, and Aunt to the present Duke; she was twice marry'd, first to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and next to *Charles* Earl of *Murray*.

The Right Hon. *Henry Newport*, Earl of *Bradford*, Viscount *Newport*, and Baron of *Ercall*, Lord Lieutenant and *Custos Rotulorum* for *Salop* and *Montgomery*. Dying a Batchelor, he is succeeded by his Brother *Richard*.

Sir *John Kirkaldy* of *Scotland*, Bart.

JANUARY.

Preferments.

The Right Hon. Lord *Nassau Paulett*, made a Captain in the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, commanded by his Grace the Duke of *Argyll*.

Capt. *Manning* made Major, Capt. *Kerr* preferr'd to a Troop, and Lieut. *Wakeman* made Captain Lieutenant in the Earl of *Pembroke's* Royal Regiment of Horse.

Lieut. *Fox* appointed Captain of the *Griffin* Fireship.

His Grace the Duke of *Richmond* appointed Master of the Horse to his Majesty.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke* made Groom of the Stole to his Majesty.

Mr. *Webb*, a Clerk in the *India House*, made Treasurer to the *East-India Company*.

The

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Crawford* made Colonel of the Regiment of Foot in the *Leeward Islands*, lately commanded by Major General *Price*.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Balcarras*, one of the sixteen *Scotch Peers*, appointed Colonel of Horse in *Ireland*.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Essex* made Colonel of the Regiment of Dragoons, lately commanded by Lieut. Gen. *Evans*.

Mr. *Parker* appointed Consul at *Corruna*.

— *Meard*, Esq; made Captain of a Company in Col. *Reed's* Regiment of Foot at *Gibraltar*.

The same Governor, Sub and Deputy Governor, and the same Court of Assistants of the *Royal African Company*, chosen as the last Year, except the following new ones, viz. *Solomon Ashley*, *Robert Atkins*, jun. *Edward Bulstrode*, jun. *Atwil Lake*, *John Lawton*, Esqs. and Mr. *Thomas Marston*.

Capt. *Stevens* made Major in the fourth Troop of Horse Guards, commanded by the Lord *Shannon*.

Henry Bingham of *Ireland*, Esq; appointed one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in that Kingdom.

A Patent passed the Seal, creating *Francis* Earl of *Godolphin*, Lord *Godolphin*, Baron of *Holfstan* in the County of *Cornwall*; and in Default to the Heirs Male, that Title is to descend to the Heirs of the Body of the late *Henry Godolphin*, D.D. late Dean of *St. Paul's*, and Prevost of *Eaton College* in the County of *Bucks*, deceased.

Marriages.

Thomas Fletcher of *Newbury* in the County of *Berks*, Esq; to Miss *Lucy Mordaunt*, a Lady of 10,000 *l.* Fortune.

Jerome de Salis, Esq; of the noble and antient Family of *de Salis*, in the *Grifons*, to the Hon. Miss *Vane*, eldest Daughter of the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount *Vane*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Thomas Gibson, Esq; eldest Son of the Right Rev. *Edmund* Lord Bishop of *London*, to Miss *Haynes*, Daughter of Mr. *Haynes*, Register of the Diocese of *Canterbury*.

William Poyntz, Esq; Brother to *Stephen Poyntz*, Esq; to the Relict of Sir *Thomas Frederick*, Bart.

Mr. *Stamplear* of *Poland-street*, to Miss *Ravol* of *Golden Square*, a 20,000 *l.* Fortune.

Benjamin Burton, of *Burton-hall* in *Ireland*, married at *Dublin* to *Miss Ponsonby*, Daughter to the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount *Duncannon*, of that Kingdom.

George Westby, Esq; to *Miss Howe*, a 20,000 *l.* Fortune.

Charles Dillon, Esq; Son to Lieutenant General *Dillon*, so frequently mentioned in the Secret Committee's Report on the Plot in the Year 1722, and Colonel of one of the *Irish* Regiments in the Service of *France*, to the Hon. *Miss Dillon*, Daughter and sole Heiress of the late Lord *Dillon* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Right Hon. the Earl of *Sutherland*, one of the six-*Apr. 1734*
teen Scots Peers, to the Lady *Betty Wemyss*, Sister to the Earl of *Wemyss*.

— *Warren*, Esq; to *Miss Brudenell*, a Fortune of 10,000 *l.*

Mr. Pitt of *Bethnal-Green*, to *Mrs. Cox*, Widow, worth 3000 *l.* She is about Eighty, and *Mr. Pitt* her fifth Husband; he is about Seventy, and she his third Wife: Their Acquaintance commenc'd since New-Years Day.

Jones Lee of *Hanhām* in the County of *Glocester*, Esq; to *Miss Leak*, a Fortune of 16,000 *l.*

Births.

The Lady of the Hon. Governor *Lowther*, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of Sir *William Heathcote*, Member of Parliament, of a Daughter.

The Lady of *Joseph Bruks*, Esq; late Member of Parliament for *Peterborough*, of a Son.

Deaths.

Dy'd at *Edinburgh*, the Rev. *Mr. Gillon*, one of the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*.

The Lady *Gardner*, Wife of Sir *Brocas Gardner*, Bart. first Commissioner of the Stamp-Duties.

The Lady *Montague*, Relict of the Lord Chief Baron *Montague*, at her House in *Burlington-Gardens*.

John Hofer Sharp, Esq; Grandson of the late Archbishop *Sharp*.

William Ashurst, Esq; Grandson of the late Sir *William Ashurst*, Knt. formerly Lord Mayor of *London*.

John Eccles, Esq; Master of his Majesty's Band of Musick.

Dr. Henry Downes, Lord Bishop of *Derry* in *Ireland*.

The Hon. Lady *Arabella Oxendon*, Relict of Sir *James Oxendon*, of *Wingham* in *Kent*, Bart. Uncle to Sir *George Oxendon*.

The Right Hon *James Lyon*, Earl of *Strathmore*, Kinghorn and *Glames* in *Scotland*.

The Right Hon. the Lady *Lansdown*, Wife of the Lord *Lansdown*, and Daughter to the late Earl of *Jersey*.

Capt. *Robert Hudson*, one of the Directors of the *East-India Company*.

Dame *Maria Collit*, Relict of Sir *Richard Collit*, aged 99.

The Lady *Sprengel*, Wife of Sir *Conrad Sprengel*.

Miss *King*, a young Lady of 15,000 *l.* Fortune, the only surviving Child of the late *Daniel King*, Esq; Nephew to Sir *William Pritchard*, Knt. Lord Mayor of *London* in 1683.

John Mayo, Esq; aged 78, a great Favourite of King *James II.* who settled a Fee Farm Rent of 800 *l.* per Annum on him during Life; with Leave to settle a Jointure of 300 *l.* per Annum on his Wife in Case he married; and a few Days before he dy'd he married a Maiden Lady, to whom the Jointure was made over.

The Lady *Jane Campbell*, in the 12th Year of her Age; she was fourth Daughter to the Duke of *Argyll* and *Greenwich*. His Grace has no Issue Male, but several Daughters living, and it is the peculiar Right of that great and antient Family, that when they marry any Daughter, their Vassals are obliged to pay their Portions, and are taxed in order to it, according to the Number of their Cattle.

Dy'd at *Santry* in *Ireland*, the Right Hon. the Lord *Santry* of that Kingdom, one of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council there, and Governor of *Londonderry*.

Col. *Grey*, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot on the *Irish Establishment*.

George Granville, Lord *Lansdown*; the Title now extinct.

Sir *Charles Kemeys*, Bart.

FEBRUARY

FEBRUARY.

Preferments.

His Grace the Duke of *Portland* appointed one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty.

The Hon. *Thomas Butler*, Esq; Son to the Lord Visc. *Lanesborough* in *Ireland*, made Captain Lieutenant in Col. *Wentworth's* Regiment of Foot.

The Right Hon. the Lord Visc. *Harcourt* appointed one of the Lords of the Bed-Chamber to his Majesty.

Lieut. *Cuthbert Wightman* made Captain Lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Horse, commanded by the Earl of *Pembroke*.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Glencairn* made Governor of *Dumbarton* Castle in *Scotland*.

Richard Pottenger, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Reading*, appointed one of the Justices of the Grand Session for the Counties of *Montgomery*, *Flint*, *Denbigh* and *Chester*.

— *Brudenell*, Esq; made Captain of a Company in Lieut. Gen. *Pearce's* Regiment of Foot.

Lieut. *John Ball*, appointed Captain Lieutenant in General *Wade's* Regiment of Horse.

Lieut. *Brookesby*, made a Captain in General *Philips's* Regiment of Foot in *North America*.

Dr. Rundle made Bishop of *Derry* in *Ireland*.

Sir William Morrice, Bart. chosen Recorder for the Borough of *Launceston* in *Cornwall*, in the Room of Lord *Lansdown* deceas'd.

Right Hon. Lord *Sinclair* made a Captain in Col. *Barrell's* Regiment of Foot.

Right Hon. the Earl of *Waldegrave* made Vice Admiral of the County of *Essex*.

Right Hon. Lord *Weymouth* chosen grand Master of the Society of Free Masons.

Right Hon. Countess of *Tankerville* made Mistress of the Robes to the Queen.

— *Butler*, Esq; appointed Groom Porter.

The Right Hon. the Earls of *Essex* and *Waldegrave*, and *Stephen Poyntz*, Esq; made Privy Counsellors.

— *Stapleton*, Esq; made Captain of the *Sheerneys*.

Robert Trevor, Esq; made Captain of the *Newark*.

Sir Joseph Jekyl Master of the Rolls, chosen President of the Infirmary in *Westminster*.

Mr. *Arthur Pollard* made Secretary to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Cornet *Merriden* made Lieutenant in the Earl of *Pembroke's* Regiment of Horse.

Capt. Lieut. *Timpson* made a Captain in *Murray's* Regiment.

George Read, Esq; made a Cornet in *Essex's* Dragoons.

— *Lemyng*, Esq; made Lieutenant in General *Wade's* own Troop, and Mr. *Ashby* made Quarter-Master in the Room of Mr. *Jefferies*.

Marriages.

John Barker, Esq; to Miss *Towers*, with a Fortune of 9000 l.

Rogers Holland, Esq; Barrister at Law, and Member of Parliament for *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, to Mrs. *Martin* of the same Place, a Widow Lady with 20,000 l. Fortune.

John Ibbert of *Boweringly* in *Devonshire*, Esq; to Miss *Courtenay*, Daughter of Sir *William Courtenay*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for that County.

The Rev. Dr. *Lancaster*, Rector of *St. Martin's* in the City of *Chester*, and Chaplain to the Prince of *Wales*, to the Relict of Capt. *Broom* of *Old Palace-yard*, a Fortune of 20,000 l.

Jacob Hodson of *Chiswick*, Esq; to Miss *Sutton*, a Fortune of 14,000 l. and a near Relation to Sir *Robert Sutton*.

Philip Lloyd, Esq; to Miss *Jane Fitzgerald*, an Heiress of 20,000 l. Fortune.

James Calder, Esq; Son to Sir *James Calder*, Bart. to Miss *Hughes*, Daughter and Sole Heir of the late Admiral *Hughes*.

William Mellish, Esq; to Mrs. *Villa Real*, Daughter to Mr. *Da Costa*, a rich Jew Merchant of *London*, a Widow Lady of 35,000 l. Fortune.

Births.

The Right Hon. the Countess of *Albemarle* was safely delivered of a Son.

The Lady *Betty Warren*, Wife of *Edward Warren*, Esq; and Sister to the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, brought to Bed of a Son.

Her Grace the Dutchess of *Richmond*, safely brought to Bed of a Son, whose Title is Earl of *March*.

The Right Hon. the Countess of *Abercorn*, of a Daughter.

The

The Lady of George Fernegan, Esq; Niece to the late Earl of Stafford, brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

Deaths.

Died Thomas Ellis, Esq; aged 92, Groom of the Bed-Chamber, and Occulist to King James II.

Died at his House in Friday-street, Mr. Matthews, an eminent Wholesale Tobacconist, reputed worth 80,000 l. Mary Dennis, Pensioner in St. George's Workhouse, aged 106.

The Right Hon. the Lady De la Ware, at Bath, Daughter to the Earl of Clancarty in the Kingdom of Ireland, and Granddaughter to the Earl of Sunderland, who was Minister of State to King James II.

The Lady Mary Finch, Daughter of Heneage Finch Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Chancellor in the Reign of King Charles II. She was Aunt to the Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, and dy'd unmarried.

Mr. Adam Mason, worth 30,000 l, formerly a Warder in the Tower, but turned out of his Employment with two others in 1716, on the Escape of the Earl of Nithsdale the Night before he was to have been beheaded.

The Lady Anne Fernegan, Relict of Sir Francis Fernegan, Bart. with whom she liv'd married near sixty Years. She was a Roman Catholick, and second Daughter of Sir George Blount of Sedington in Worcestershire, Bart. Mother of Sir John Fernegan, Bart. George Fernegan, Esq; Dr. Fernegan, Mr. Henry Fernegan, Banker in Covent-Garden; two other Sons and two Daughters, and Aunt to the junior Dutchess of Norfolk, Lady Clifford of Chudleigh, and to the present Sir Edward Blount, Bart.

Capt. Joseph Stanley, aged 102; he had been 45 Years in the West-India Service.

Pellestent Lamb, Esq; an eminent Land Conveyancer, reputed worth 100,000 l.

William Bagnal of Roehampton, Esq; reputed worth 150,000 l.

The Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of Torrington, Relict and third Wife of Thomas Newport of Brigstock-Park in Northamptonshire, created Earl of Torrington, June 25, 1716.

The Lady Guise, Relict of Sir John Guise of Elmore in Gloucestershire, Bart.

Thomas Winter, Esq; formerly one of the Directors of the East-India Company.

John

John Chadwick, Esq;

Dr. Arbuthnot, one of the Fellows of the Royal Society.

Isaac Lemyng Rebow, Esq; Member of Parliament for Colchester in Essex.

Died in an advanc'd Age, George Pitt, Esq; at his Seat at Stratfieldsea in Hampshire, worth 10,000 l. per Annum.

M A R C H.

Preferments.

Mr. Evans, who was extraordinary Page to the Back-Stairs to his Majesty, was made Page of the Presence in the Room of Mr. Nash deceas'd.

The Right Hon. Owen Wynne, Esq; Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces in Ireland, and Colonel of the Royal Irish Dragoons, is made Governor of Derry, in the Room of the late Lord Santry.

The Right Rev. Henry Egerton, D. D. Lord Bishop of Hereford, one of the Cannons of Christ Church, and Brother to his Grace the Duke of Bridgwater, enter'd upon his Place as Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty.

At a General Court of the Governors of Christ's Hospital, Robert Gay, Esq; was chosen Treasurer, in the Room of Richard Cheek, Esq; who resign'd.

Birth.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of Cardigan, youngest Daughter to his Grace the Duke of Montagu, and Grandaughter to the Dutches Dowager of Marlborough, was safely deliver'd of a Son and Heir, whose Title is Lord Brudenall.

Deaths.

Died Mr. Nash, Page of the Presence to the King and Groom of his Majesty's Woodyard at Whitehall.

Robert Hind, Esq; a Gentleman of a very considerable Estate, which devolves to his only surviving Son Robert Hind, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex.

Sir John Fielder, of Brampton in Derbyshire, a Batchelor, whose Estate was 2000 l. per Ann.

Died Bevill Higgons, Author of the Critical Review of the History of England.

Died Capt. *John Brown* of *Mile-End*, formerly Commander of an *East-India Ship*, leaving to his Nephew, *Thomas Brown* of *Mile-End*, Esq; 20,000 l. besides several considerable Legacies to others.

Dy'd Mrs. *Corbet*, Wife of *William Corbet*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Montgomery*.

Dy'd Mr. *Augustus Brudenell*, about ten Years old, Son of the Hon. *James Brudenell*, Esq; Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, and Groom of the Bed-Chamber to his Majesty.

Dy'd the only Son of *James Cocks*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Ryegate* in *Surry*.

Dy'd of the Small-Pox, the Lady *Dering*, Wife of Sir *Edward Dering*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *Kent*.

Dy'd *Henry Rawling*, Esq; formerly High-Sheriff of the County of *Northumberland*, and dying a Batchelor, a considerable Estate devolves to his Brother Mr. *Benjamin Rawling* of this City.

Dy'd of the Small-Pox, *Humphry Dolin*, of *Sibton* near *Saxmundham* in *Suffolk*, Esq;

Dy'd *Samuel Jones*, Esq; formerly a Director of the *East-India Company*.

Dy'd *George Jackson*, Esq; formerly one of the unfortunate Managers of the Affairs of the Charitable Corporation; he was however, on account of some favourable Circumstances that appear'd in his Case, not included in the Bill that pass'd against some of the Directors and Managers.

Dy'd *Paul Docminique*, Esq; who was Member of Parliament for *Gatton* in *Surry*, for several Years before the Union; and in every one of the eight Parliaments of *Great Britain* since; and in the fourth Parliament of *Great Britain*, he was made a Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, in which Post he continued ever since. He was about 97.

Dy'd Mrs. *Hubert*, Relict of the late Lieutenant Col. *Hubert*, of the second Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. The Bulk of her Estate, which is very considerable, is left to her two Sons, *Philip Hubert*, Esq; and Mr. *Michael Hubert*.

Dy'd *John Ford*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.

Died Sir *John Suffield*, Knt.

Dy'd

John Chadwick, Esq;

Dr. Arbuthnot, one of the Fellows of the Royal Society.

Isaac Lemyng Rebow, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Colchester* in *Essex*.

Died in an advanc'd Age, *George Pitt*, Esq; at his Seat at *Stratfieldsea* in *Hampshire*, worth 10,000 *l. per Annum*.

M A R C H,

Preferments.

Mr. Evans, who was extraordinary Page to the Back-Stairs to his Majesty, was made Page of the Presence in the Room of *Mr. Nash* decess'd.

The Right Hon. *Owen Wynne*, Esq; Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces in *Ireland*, and Colonel of the Royal Irish Dragoons, is made Governor of *Derry*, in the Room of the late Lord *Santry*.

The Right Rev. *Henry Egerton*, D. D. Lord Bishop of *Hereford*, one of the Cannons of *Christ Church*, and Brother to his Grace the Duke of *Bridgewater*, enter'd upon his Place as Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty.

At a General Court of the Governors of *Christ's Hospital*, *Robert Gay*, Esq; was chosen Treasurer, in the Room of *Richard Cheek*, Esq; who resign'd.

Birth.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Cardigan*, youngest Daughter to his Grace the Duke of *Montagu*, and Grandaughter to the Dutchess Dowager of *Marlborough*, was safely deliver'd of a Son and Heir, whose Title is Lord *Brudenall*.

Deaths.

Died *Mr. Nash*, Page of the Presence to the King, and Groom of his Majesty's Woodyard at *Whitehall*.

Robert Hind, Esq; a Gentleman of a very considerable Estate, which devolves to his only surviving Son *Robert Hind*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.

Sir John Fielder, of *Brampton* in *Derbyshire*, a Batchelor, whose Estate was 2000 *l. per Ann.*

Died *Bevill Higgons*, Author of the *Critical Review of the History of England*.

Died Capt. *John Brown* of *Mile-End*, formerly Commander of an *East-India Ship*, leaving to his Nephew, *Thomas Brown* of *Mile-End*, Esq; 20,000 l. besides several considerable Legacies to others.

Dy'd Mrs. *Corbet*, Wife of *William Corbet*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Montgomery*.

Dy'd Mr. *Augustus Brudenell*, about ten Years old, Son of the Hon. *James Brudenell*, Esq; Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, and Groom of the Bed-Chamber to his Majesty.

Dy'd the only Son of *James Cocks*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Ryegate* in *Surry*.

Dy'd of the Small-Pox, the Lady *Dering*, Wife of Sir *Edward Dering*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *Kent*.

Dy'd *Henry Rawling*, Esq; formerly High-Sheriff of the County of *Northumberland*, and dying a Batchelor, a considerable Estate devolves to his Brother Mr. *Benjamin Rawling* of this City.

Dy'd of the Small-Pox, *Humphry Dolin*, of *Sibton* near *Saxmundham* in *Suffolk*, Esq;

Dy'd *Samuel Jones*, Esq; formerly a Director of the *East-India Company*.

Dy'd *George Jackson*, Esq; formerly one of the unfortunate Managers of the Affairs of the Charitable Corporation; he was however, on account of some favourable Circumstances that appear'd in his Case, not included in the Bill that pass'd against some of the Directors and Managers.

Dy'd *Paul Docminique*, Esq; who was Member of Parliament for *Gatton* in *Surry*, for several Years before the Union; and in every one of the eight Parliaments of *Great Britain* since; and in the fourth Parliament of *Great Britain*, he was made a Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, in which Post he continued ever since. He was about 97.

Dy'd Mrs. *Hubert*, Relict of the late Lieutenant Col. *Hubert*, of the second Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards. The Bulk of her Estate, which is very considerable, is left to her two Sons, *Philip Hubert*, Esq; and Mr. *Michael Hubert*.

Dy'd *John Ford*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.

Died Sir *John Suffield*, Knt.

Dy'd

Dy'd Mrs. *Elizabeth Williams*, Relict of *John Williams*, Esq; Brother to Sir *Nicholas Williams*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *Garmarthen*: She has left the Bulk of her Estate to *Thomas Jones* of *Penybout* in the County of *Cardigan*, Esq;

Dy'd *James Robinson*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of *Surry*.

Dy'd *John Prynne*, Esq; an eminent Counsellor at Law in *Gloucestershire*.

Dy'd *George Turville*, Esq; late of *Bromley* in *Middlesex*, by whose Death a considerable Estate falls to his only surviving Brother, the Rev. Mr. *William Turville*, Vicar of *Long Clauſton* in the County of *Liecester*, and one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County.

Dy'd Sir *Walter Hawkſworth*, of *Hawkſworth* in *Yorkſhire*, Bart. descended in a direct Line from *William de Hawkſworth*, who held Lands in *Normandy*, in Fee of the Earl of *Moriton*; and coming into *England* with *William the Conqueror*, settled at *Hawkſworth*, where his Family have continu'd ever since. The late deceased Baronet was the only Son of Sir *Walter Hawkſworth*, (who dy'd in 1683, and was the first Baronet of the Family, being so created December 6, 1678, 30 Car. 2.) by *Anne*, the Daughter of Sir *Robert Markham* of *Sedgebrook* in *Lincolnshire*, Bart. The late Sir *Walter* marry'd *Judith*, eldest Daughter and Coheir of Sir *William Ayſcough* of *Osgoodby*, Kt. by whom he has had Issue seven Children, viz. three Sons and four Daughters; but the three first, and two of the last, dying in their Infancy, two Daughters only now survive, viz. *Frances*, marry'd to *Thomas Ramsden* of *Crawſton*, Esq; and *Judith* unmarried, so that the Title is extinct for want of Male Issue, and the Estate goes between the two Coheirs.

Dy'd *Joseph Benson*, Esq; in the 73d Year of his Age. He was Captain of the 2d Troop of Horse Guards in Queen *Anne's* Reign, and obtain'd Leave to dispose of his Commission when the late King came to the Throne.

Dy'd *Thomas Palmer*, Esq; Representative in Parliament for *Bridgewater* in *Somersetshire*, by whose Death a considerable Estate falls to his Brother, of *All Souls College* in *Oxford*, tho' a large Jointure goes to his Lady, one of the Daughters and Coheirs of Sir *Thomas Wroth*, besides considerable Legacies to his Sisters.

Dy'd *Philip Lloyd*, Esq; Captain of a Troop of Dragoons, one of the Equeries to the King, and Member of Parliament for *Lestwithiel* in *Cornwall*.

Omitted in March, for Want of Room.

Preferments.

Sir William Ashburnham, Bart. made Receiver, and John Scott, Esq; a Commissioner of the Alienation Office.

Marriages.

Earl of Antrim in Ireland, to Miss Betty Pennefather, a celebrated Beauty, and the Toast of that Kingdom.

John Parry of Pantyrodyn of Cardiganshire, to Miss Lloyd, Daughter of Walter Lloyd of Peterwell, Esq; Member of Parliament.

Mr. Peter Ducane, to Miss Norris, Daughter of Mr. Norris of Hackney, a Fortune of 10,000*l*.

Births.

The Lady of Charles Hanbury Williams, Esq; Knight of the Shire for Monmouth, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

Her Grace the Dutchess of Marlborough, safely deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady Yonge, Wife of Sir William Yonge, Bart. Knight of the Bath, and his Majesty's Secretary at War, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Right Hon. the Lady Montjoy, deliver'd at Dublin of a Son.

Deaths.

The Right Hon. the Lady Ruthven of Scotland.

The Lady Susanna Fane, Sister to the Earl of Westmoreland.

The Rev. Mr. William Coles, formerly Vicar of Charlbury in Oxfordshire; which Living worth 300*l*. per Ann. he threw up, rather than take any Oaths contrary to those he had first taken.

Thomas Palmer of Fairfield in Somersetshire, Esq; Member of Parliament for Bridgewater in the said County.

Lewis Rudolphus Guelp, Duke of Wolfenbuttle at Wolfenbuttle, aged 64.

'A P R I L.

Preferments.

George Nicholas, Esq; made a Captain in Brigadier Barrell's Regiment of Foot.

Lieutenant Falkener, made Captain of the Griffin Fire-ship.

John Gascoigne, Esq; made Captain of his Majesty's Ship the *Aldborough*.

George Cross, Esq; made a Captain in Colonel *Philips's* Regiment of Foot in *Newfoundland*.

The Right Hon. the Marquess of *Lothian*, made his Majesty's Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*.

The Hon. *Thomas Herbert, Esq;* Member of Parliament, succeeds the late *Philip Lloyd, Esq;* as Equerry to his Majesty.

Captain Sutton made Commander of the Garrison in the Isle of *Scilly*.

Earl of Crawford made Colonel of the late General *Jones's* Regiment in the *Leeward Islands*.

Earl of Leven appointed one of the Lords of Judicature in *Scotland*.

Captain Cotterell of the *Leostoff*, a sixth Rate, appointed Commander of the *Preston*, a fourth Rate.

Marrriages.

The Master of his Majesty's Palace of *Hoolywood-House* at *Edinburgh*, to *Lady Margaret Hume*, Aunt to the present *Earl of Hume*.

William Warren of *Trevern* in *Pembrokeshire*, *Esq;* to *Miss Skirm* of *Lowaden* in the same County, a Lady of 2000*l.* per Ann.

John Egerton of *New Tatton* in *Cheshire*, *Esq;* to *Miss Ward*, a 15000*l.* Fortune.

Richard Crowle of the *Middle Temple*, *Esq;* to *Miss Pearman*, a Fortune of 30,000*l.*

Mr. Hall, a considerable *Spanish* Merchant, to *Miss Betty Mighells*, Daughter of the late *Admiral Mighells*.

Sir Henry Lyddel, Bart. Member of Parliament for *Morpeth*, to *Miss Delme*, a Fortune of 67000*l.*

Philip Jourdon of *Hamersmith*, *Esq;* to *Miss Bragge*, a Fortune of 70,000*l.*

Robert Callaghan, Esq; eldest Son of *Cornelius Callaghan, Esq;* an eminent Lawyer at *Dublin*, to *Miss Worth*, Daughter of *Edward Worth* of *Rathfarnham, Esq;* a young Lady of 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Sir Samuel Marwood of *Busby-hall* in *Yorkshire*, *Bart.* to *Miss Nancy Pierston* of *Stokesley*, a young Lady of 10,000*l.* Fortune.

John Campbell of *Shawfield, jun.* one of the Commissioners of the Customs in *Scotland*, to *Lady Susan Cunningham*, Sister to the *Earl of Glencairn*.

Births.

Births.

The Lady of *Thomas Townshend*, Esq; Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge, deliver'd of a Daughter.

Her Grace the Dutchess of *Athol*, deliver'd of a Son and Heir called Marquess of *Tullibardin*.

The Lady *Bellew* of the Kingdom of Ireland, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of *Sir Ferymyn Davers*, deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

Deaths.

Dy'd *William Wodehouse*, eldest Son of *Sir John Wodehouse* of *Kimberley-Hall* in *Norfolk*, Bart. and Knight of the Shire for the said County.

— *Sir Robert Furnese* of *Waldeſham* in *Kent*, Bart. at *Montepelier* in *France*; in the 19th Year of his age.

— The Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of *Drogheda*, eldest Daughter to the late Lord Viscount *Falmouth*.

— The Lady *Eyles*, Relict of *Sir Francis Eyles*, Bart.

— The Lady *Maria*, only Daughter of his Excellency the Count of *Montijo*, Embassador from *Spain*.

— At *Dublin*, *Elizabeth Shaw*, aged 110 Years, and 18 Days.

— At *Edinburgh*, the Right Hon. *Adam Cockburn* of *Ormiston*, Esq; Lord Justice Clerk, and one of the Ordinary Lords of the Court of Session in *Scotland*, in the 79th Year of his Age.

— At *Hanover*, *Mr. Fabricius*, Privy Counsellor and Master of the Robes to his late Majesty, as Elector of *Hanover*.

— The Rev. Dr. *Derham*, Canon of *Windſor*, Rector of *Upminster* in *Effex*, and F. R. S. famous for several curious Pieces in natural Philosophy, &c.

— At his Seat in *Glamorganshire*, *Sir Edward Stradling*, Bart.

M A Y.

Preferments.

Captain *Herbert*, Third Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, made a Captain in the Queen's Royal Regiment of Dragoons.

Arthur Bevan, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Cardmarthen*, and *Walter Lloyd*, Esq; Member of Parliament for the County of *Cardigan*, made Judges in all Matters of Equity within the Dominion of *Wales*.

Sir *William Yonge*, Knight of the *Bath*, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, made Secretary at War.

Sir *Robert Rich*, Bart. Captain and Colonel of the first Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, made Colonel of the Regiment of Dragoons lately General *Evans's*.

Sir *Charles Hotham*, Bart. succeeds Sir *Robert Rich* in the Guards, and Colonel *Armstrong* has got Sir *Charles's* Regiment of Foot on the *Irish Establishment*.

Robert Murray, Esq; made Colonel of the Regiment of Foot, lately commanded by Brigadier *Jones*.

Lieutenant Colonel *Ponsonby*, made Colonel of the Regiment lately commanded by *Robert Murray*, Esq;

Brigadier General *Tyrrel*, made Governor of the Castle and Garrison of *Pendennis*.

Anthony Jones, Esq; made Town-Major of *Kingston upon Hull*.

William Clayton, Esq; one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, created a Baron of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by the Stile and Title of Baron *Sundon of Ardagh* in the County of *Longford*.

Francis Earl of Godolphin, made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, in the Room of the Lord Viscount *Lonisdale*, who resign'd.

Benjamin Earl of Fitzwalter, made first Lord Commissioner of the Board of Trade and Plantations, in the Room of the Earl of *Westmoreland*, who resign'd.

Richard Plumer, Esq; Member of Parliament for *St. Maws* in *Cornwall*, made one of the Commissioners of the said Board.

Charles Henry Collins, Esq; made a Captain in Lieutenant General *Tatton's* Regiment of Foot.

Capt. *Robert Hepburn*, made a Captain in the Lord *Mark Ker's* Regiment of Dragoons.

Lieutenant *Swiney*, made a Captain in Brigadier General *William Ker's* Regiment of Dragoons.

Captain Lieutenant *Dimock Lister*, made a Captain in his Majesty's own Regiment of Foot, commanded by Brigadier General *Piercy Kirk*.

Lieutenant *John How*, made Captain Lieutenant in the same Regiment.

Ensign *Whitmore*, made a Captain in the same Regiment.

Captain Lieutenant *William Pots*, made a Captain in Colonel *St. Clare's* Regiment of Foot.

Lieutenant

Lieutenant *Edward Brereton*, made Captain Lieutenant in the said Regiment.

William Petitos, Esq; made Town Major of the City of Dublin.

Henry Harvey, Esq; made a Captain in Colonel *Montagu's* Regiment of Foot.

Robert Armiger, Esq; made a Captain in the Earl of *Rothes's* Regiment of Foot.

John Severn, Esq; made a Captain in Brigadier-General *Clayton's* Regiment of Foot.

Capt. Lieutenant *Preston*, made a Captain in the same Regiment.

Lieutenant *Goodwyn Morton*, made Captain Lieutenant in the same Regiment.

James Stapleton, Esq; made a Lieutenant Colonel and Commander of a Company in the second Regiment of Foot Guards.

Lieutenant *Hassel*, made a Captain in General *Wade's* Regiment of Foot.

Henry Ingram, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Horsham* in *Suffex*, made Commissary General of the Stores and Provisions in *Minorca*.

John Hampden, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Wendover* in *Bucks*, made Commissary General of the Stores and Provisions at *Gibraltar*.

The Lord *Robert Montagu*, Brother to the Duke of *Manchester*, made Vice Chamberlain to her Majesty.

The Lady *Sundon*, made Mistress of the Robes to her Majesty.

Captain *Bludworth*, appointed Deputy Master of the Horse to the Prince of *Wales*.

Charles Fildes, Esq; Brother to the Earl of *Denbigh*, made Equerry to his Majesty.

Sir *Robert Corbet*, Bart. made one of the Commissioners of the Customs, in the Room of *Henry Hale*, Esq; deceased.

George Earl of Cholmondeley, made one of the Commissioners for executing the Office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer.

Fitz. Roy Henry Lee, Esq; made Governor of *Newfoundland*, in the Room of the Lord *Muskerry*.

Lord *Lovelace*, made one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, in the Room of the Earl of *Pembroke*, made Groom of the Stole.

Lord *Harcourt*, appointed Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, in the Room of the Earl of *Cholmondeley*.

Patrick

Patrick Heron, Esq; succeeds the late *Sir David Nairn*, as Secretary to the Order of the Thistle.

Admiral Haddock, made Rear Admiral of *Sir John Norris's Squadron*.

Marriages.

Joseph Nicholson, Esq; to *Miss Betty Ellison*, Niece to the Right Rev. Dr. *Richard Waugh*, late Bishop of *Carlisle*, a Lady of 20,000 *l.* Fortune.

Thomas Manning, Esq; to *Miss Alice Knight of Wanstead*, a Lady of 20,000 *l.* Fortune.

Edward Slingsby of Yorkshire, Esq; to *Miss Sarah Sandys Berkeley*, a Lady of 10,000 *l.* Fortune.

John Wogan of Gaudy-Hall in Norfolk, Esq; to *Miss Sanctroft of Burlington Gardens*, Niece to *Sir John Hynd Cotton, Bart.* a Lady of 8000 *l.* Fortune.

The Right Hon. the Lord Viscount *Vane*, to the Widow of the late Lord *William Hamilton*, Daughter and Heiress of *Mr. Hawes*, late one of Directors of the *South-Sea Company*.

The Right Honourable the Marquess of *Lindsey*, Son and Heir apparent to his Grace the Duke of *Ancaster and Kesteven*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*, married to the Lady *Nicol*, Relict of the late *Sir Charles Gunter Nicol*, Knight of the *Bath*; a Lady of 70,000 *l.* Fortune.

Peter Allen, Esq; to *Miss Winnington of Sussex*, a 32,000 *l.* Fortune

Robert Knapp of Suffolk, Esq; to *Miss Penford*, an Heiress of 700 *l.* per Ann. Estate.

—— *Worsdale of Marlborough in Wilts, Esq;* to *Miss Southhouse* a Fortune of 20,000 *l.*

The Earl of *Suffolk and Bindon*, to *Miss Inwen*, sole Heiress of *Thomas Inwen, Esq;* Member of Parliament for *Southwark*.

Andrew Crew of Southwark, Esq; to *Miss Henrietta Standish Briscoe*, a 15,000 *l.* Fortune.

—— *Adams, M.D.* Son of Governor *Adams*, to *Miss Gray*, only Daughter of *John Gray, Esq;* a Fortune of 20,000 *l.*

John Boyle of Tamworth in Staffordshire, Esq; to *Miss Esford*, a Fortune of 28,000 *l.*

—— *Dorrel of Hounslow, Esq;* to *Miss Wood*, a 10,000 *l.* Fortune.

Richard Powys, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Orford*, to the Lady —— *Brudenel*, Sister to the Earl of *Cardigan*.

Mr. *Whitfield*, an Apothecary of *Windsor*, to Mrs. *Hatch*, with a Fortune of 10,000 l.

Robert *Sewern* of *Oxfordshire*, Esq; to Miss *Anne Jones* *Benton*, with 10,000 l.

Captain *Gee*, to Miss *Talbot*, Sister to Sir *Roger Talbot*, a Fortune of 30,000 l.

Sir *Robert Long*, Member of Parliament for *Wotton-Basset*, to the Lady *Emma*, Daughter of Earl *Tylney*.

Sir *William Dixie*, Bart. to Miss *Anne Frere*, a Fortune of 20,000 l.

Lord *Robert Montagu*, Brother to the Duke of *Manchester*, to Mrs. *Harriot Dunch* of *Whitehall*, a Fortune of 15,000 l.

Mr. *Chambers*, an eminent Attorney, to the Relict of Dr. *Sacheverel*.

The Lady *Catharine Grey*, Second Daughter to the Earl of *Stamford*, to Mynheer *Trypp*, Post-master of *Amsterdam*, and only Son and Heir to the Burgomaster of that Name.

Mr. *Boehm*, a considerable *Hamburgh* Merchant, to Miss *Hudson*, Daughter of Sir *Roger Hudson*, a Fortune of 10,000 l.

Nicholas Hyatt, Esq; to Mrs. *Henrietta Maria Holcot*, a 10,000 l. Fortune.

Births.

Her Grace the *Dutchess* of *Leeds*, Wife to the Earl of *Portmore*, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady *Grace Vane*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleveland*, and Wife to *Henry Vane*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *St. Mawes* in *Cornwall*, deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Wife of *John Evelyn*, Esq; Member for *Holston* in *Cornwall*, of a Son.

The Wife of *George Venables Vernon*, Esq; Member for *Litchfield*, of a Son.

The Wife of *Charles Bertie*, Esq; of a Son.

Deaths.

Dy'd Captain *Alexander Hume*, an old Officer in the Navy.

Mrs. *Chambers*, Relict of *Thomas Chambers*, Esq; and Mother of the Countess of *Exeter*.

Mr. *James Brown*, the City Bricklayer.

John Fordham of *Clapham*, Esq; formerly an eminent *Hamburgh* Merchant.

Mrs. *Henrietta Bentworth* of *Tower-Hill*, a Maiden Lady of 4000 l. per Ann.

The

The Lady Bellew, Wife of the Lord Bellew of Duleck in the Kingdom of Ireland, and Daughter of the Earl of Nithsdale, who made his Escape out of the Tower in the Year 1715-16.

The Right Hon. Matthew Lord Dunc, Baron of Moyerton.

The Lady Mordaunt, Relict of Sir John Mordaunt of Ruthin in Denbighshire.

General Compton's Lady.

The Lady Moleworth, Wife of Sir John Moleworth, Bart. Member of Parliament for Newport in Cornwall.

At Campbell Town in the West Highlands, Elizabeth Dutcheffs Dowager of Argyll, Relict of Archibald Campbell, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Argyll, Mother to the present Duke, the Earl of Isla, and the Countess of Bute, and Daughter to Sir Lionel Talmaff of Suffolk.

The Lady Parsons, Wife of Sir William Parsons of Nottingham, Bart.

At Kendal in Lancashire, James Wilson, aged 100. About four Years ago, Timothy Cornard died near the same Place, aged 114, and there is now living Roger Friers, Aged 103.

The Rev. Mr. Anthony Gregory, Rector of Mapal and Vicar of Sutton in the Isle of Ely, aged 85; he held Sutton 59 Years, and Mapal 50, and constantly resided at his Livings.

At the Bath, Sir James Tobin an Irishman; he pretended that he was ill used by the East-India Company here, and therefore went over to Ostend, where he offered his Service and was accepted: He was the first that sail'd from that Port to the East-Indies to China, and made such vast Returns, there being then no Directors to swallow up the Profits of the Voyage; that the Emperor Knighted him.

Mr. Edmund Fitz. Gerald, Chief Clerk of the House of Lords under the Clerk of the Parliament.

The Rev. Samuel Knight, D. D. Vicar of St. Sepulchres. Owen Wynne, Esq; Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces, and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Inniskillin Dragoons in Ireland.

Thomas Edwin, Son of Sir Humphry Edwin, Lord Mayor in 1699.

At Barbadoes, and Governor of that Island, Scroop Viscount Howe, Baron of Clonawley in Ireland, and his Lady three Days after him.

Omitted in May last, for Want of Room.

Marriages.

Edward Manwaring of Whitmore in Staffordshire, Esq; marry'd to the eldest Daughter of William Bunbury of the Middle-Temple, Esq; a Fortune of 11,000*l*.

The Right Hon. the Lord Kingsland, marry'd at Dublin to Miss Daly, a great Fortune.

Deaths.

Dy'd Mr. Josiah Ratty, an Italian Merchant in Bishopgate-street, worth 50,000*l*.

Paul Burrard, Esq; Member for Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, and Receiver-General of the Land Tax for the County of Southampton.

Thomas Jackson of Camberwell, Esq; formerly an eminent Virginia Merchant of this City.

At Charles-Town in South Carolina, Robert Johnson, Esq; Governor of that Province.

J U N E.

Preferments.

Peter Davenport, Esq; appointed Receiver-General for Chester and North Wales.

John Geldart, Esq; Receiver-General for Lancashire.

William Duff of Braco in Scotland, Esq; created Baron Braco of Kilbryd in Ireland.

William Kent, Esq; Master Carpenter of his Majesty's Board of Works, made Master Mason.

Westby Gill, Esq; Deputy Surveyor, appointed Master Carpenter of the said Works. And Nicholas Hawksmore, Secretary, appointed Deputy Surveyor.

M. Grout, Uncle to Baron Hartoff's Lady, made Prime Minister of State for the Electorate of Hanover, in the Room of Count Hornbeck, deceas'd.

Mr. John Till, Collector of the Customs at Chichester.

Edward Tuffnell and John Roberts, Esqrs. and their Survivors, constituted Collectors of the Customs at Southampton.

Marriages.

James Tompkinson, Esq; Merchant, marry'd to Miss Stretton of Battersea, worth 14000*l*.

Henry Stapleton, Esq; to Miss Tilney of Cambridgeshire, a Fortune of 12000*l*.

Miss Howe, Maid of Honour to the Princess of Orange, to a rich Merchant in Amsterdam.

Peter Hedgware, Esq; to Miss Carolina Churchill of Bristol, with 15000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. Edward Wormwood, Tobacconist, to the Widow Milward, a Fortune of 20,000*l.*

—— Philips of Grosvenor-street, Esq; to Mrs. Sunley, Widow of James Sunley, Esq; with 18000*l.* Fortune.

George Grantham of Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, to Mrs. Marshal, a Widow, worth 900*l.* per Ann. He is her 5th Husband, and she his 5th Wife.

John Wilder of Nunhide, Berks, Esq; to Miss Boyle of Warwickshire, with 10,000*l.*

Paul Plaisted of Suffolk, Esq; to Miss Sarah Simon, a Fortune of 12000*l.*

Petley Price of Berkshire, Esq; to Miss Richardson of Derby, with 10,000*l.*

Sir Patriek Trimer of Ireland, to Mrs. Susannah Galloway Jenkins, with 30,000*l.*

Sir Jeremy Lambley, Brewer, to Mistress Simson, a Widow, worth 20,000*l.*

Charles Palmer, Esq; to Miss Thompson, a Fortune of 8000*l.* and 250*l.* a Year.

Isaac Pitman, Esq; to Miss Sarah Hewson, with 10,000*l.*

James Selwin, Esq; to Miss Jane Fotherby of Kingston upon Hull, a Fortune of 16000*l.*

Edward Burnaby, Esq; one of the Clerks of the Treasury, to Miss Sarah Green, Daughter to Mr. Green of Westminster, Brewer, with 30,000*l.*

—— Montgomery, jun. of Coitsford in Scotland, to Miss Montgomery, Heiress of Skelmurly.

John Symons of Hereford, Esq; to Miss Anne Colebrooke, second Daughter of James Colebrooke, Esq; an eminent Banker in Threadneedle-street.

Peter Saunders of Hertford, Esq; to Miss Elizabeth Turner of Bedford.

Thomas Lane of Thame in Oxfordshire, Esq; to Mrs. Charlbury, Relict of —— Charlbury of Sandbrooke in Surrey, Esq;

John Purnel of Oxfordshire, Esq; to Miss Lammy of Bristol.

Nicholas Toke of the Inner Temple, Esq; to Miss Cockman, Daughter and sole Heiress of Dr. Cockman, an eminent Physician in Kent, lately deceas'd.

Peter Holt of Surrey, Esq; to Miss Martha Withers, only Daughter and Heiress of —— Withers, Esq;

George

George Parker, Esq; to Miss Smith, Daughter of Jacob Smith of Greenwich, Esq;

Mr. Knollys of Fleet-street, Druggist in Ordinary to his Majesty, marry'd to Miss Marsham of Woodford.

Births.

The Right Hon. the Countess of Huntington, safely deliver'd of a Daughter.

Her Grace the Dutchess Dowager of Bedford, Wife to the Earl of Jersey, brought to Bed of a Son.

The Lady Henrietta Herbert, Relict of the Right Hon. Lord Edward Herbert, second Son to the Marquess of Powis, deliver'd of a posthumous Daughter.

The Lady of William Trumbull, Esq; Son of the late Sir William Trumbull, Kt. Secretary of State to King William, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of Stephen Poyntz, Esq; Preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

The Right Hon. the Countess of Sutherland, deliver'd of a Son and Heir at Edinburgh.

The Lady of Dudley Rider, Esq; his Majesty's Solicitor-General, brought to Bed of a Son.

Deaths.

Dy'd John Murray of Southamton-Row, Esq; a celebrated Face Painter, worth 40,000 l.

Sir Thomas Legard at Ganton in Yorkshire.

Sir John Thurmond, a brave Sea-Officer.

Capt. Cleveland, a Commissioner of the Navy, and one of the elder Brothers of Trinity House.

Samuel Hall, Esq; in Leadenhall-street, a Corn Merchant, worth 20,000 l.

Mrs. Miller in Brook-street, worth 10,000 l. and 500 l. a Year.

Mr. Brown, a Chymist in Old Fish-street, F. R. S. and Author of several curious Chymical Papers in the Philosophical Transactions.

Sir Robert Rous of Henham-Hall, Suffolk, Bart. He marry'd the Daughter of John Smith, of Holton, Suffolk, Esq; and left only one Son, now Sir Robert Rous, Bart. about seven Years old, to whom descends an Estate of 3500 l. a Year. His Illness was said to have been occasioned by his great Fatigues at the late Elections for the Country Interest.

The Lady Bendysh in Great Poland-street.

Mr. Thomas Hearne, M. A. of Edmund-Hall, Oxford. He was a famous Antiquarian, having many Years made Collections of English Antiquities, and printed them by

Subscription. He left his Fortune among his poor Relations, and his Manuscripts, which are very curious, to Dr. *William Bedford*, Physician in *London*, 1500*l.* was found in his Study.

William Turnor, Esq; at *Crosswick*, *Norfolk*; he was Brother to Sir *Charles Turnor*.

Richard Barnard of *Sussex*, Esq; his Estate of 3000*l.* a Year devolves to his Son, now making a Campaign on the *Rhine*.

Nicholas du Bois, Esq; aged 70, a principal Officer of the Board of Works. He was appointed by K. *William III.* one of the Tutors to the Prince of *Friseland*, Father of the present Prince of *Orange*.

The learned Abbe *Vertot*, at *Paris*.

Capt. *George Pitt*, Commander of an *East-India* Ship lately at *Bengal*.

Major-General *Russel* at *Bath*.

Sir *Edward Turner*, Bart. so created by his present Majesty. He marry'd the Sister of Sir *Gregory Page* of *Greenwich*; and is succeeded by his Son, now Sir *Edward Turner*; he was reckon'd worth upwards of 100,000*l.*

General *Hill*. He was Page of the Presence, and Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of *Denmark*; after the Death of that Prince, he got a Regiment of Foot, was made Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and one of the Privy Council to Queen *Anne*, upon whose Demise he resign'd all his Posts. He left his Estate to his Nephew, eldest Son to the Lord *Masham*.

Lewis Delane. Esq; Deputy-Governor of *Guernsey*.

Thomas Peterson of *Suffolk*, Esq; His Estate of 4000*l.* a Year, devolves to his Son now at *Minorca*.

Mr. *William Bond*, a near Relation to the Lord Viscount *Gage*, and Author of several Poetical Pieces.

Mrs. *Reade*, Daughter of the late Sir *Edward Harrison*, and Relict of *Samuel Reade*, Esq; one of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company in the Year 1720. They are survived by a Daughter of about 14 Years of Age, who is Heiress to above 70,000*l.*

Captain *Joseph Goring*, at *Chelsea*, in the 88th Year of his Age.

Richard Shirley, Esq; an old Land Officer of 91 Years of Age; he dropp'd down dead as he was walking after Dinner in his Garden at *Fulham*.

Mrs. *Edwyn*, Wife of *John Edwyn*, Esq; Son of the late Sir *Humphry Edwyn*, Kt.

James Boyley, Esq; his Estate of 3000*l.* a Year devolves to his Son now at *Cambridge*.

Miss Bunbury, youngest Daughter of *William Bunbury, Esq;* Uncle to the present *Sir Charles*, Member of Parliament for *Chester*.

James Thompson of *Twickenham, Esq;* formerly Aid de Camp to his Majesty King *George I.*

Colonel *Charles Rowe* of *Lincolnshire*, an old Officer in the Army.

Capt. *George Hinckford*, formerly a Commander in the *West-India Trade*.

Mr. Sommers of *Leadenhall-street*, an eminent Dutch Merchant.

Capt. *Legg*, Commander of the *Eagle Packet-Boat* to *Corunna* in *Spain*.

Mr. Knipe, a rich *Spanish Merchant* of this City.

Col. *John Shafton*, formerly of the *Horse-Guards Blue*.

Capt. *John Knight*, an old Officer of the Army.

Col. *Wardor*, an old Officer of the Army.

At his House in *New Bond-street*, *Philip Connor* of *Ireland, Esq;*

Mr. Serjeant Barnard.

James Berkley of *Tufton-street, Westminster*, an old Officer of the Army.

Mr. Corbet of *Paddington*, formerly an eminent Wine-Merchant.

Thomas Jennings of *Kensington Gravel-Pits*, formerly an eminent *West-India Merchant* of this City.

At *Paris*, whither he had gone for his Health, *Sir Joseph Mears, Bart.*

James Sloane of *Knightsbridge, Esq;* formerly an eminent *Turkey Merchant* of this City.

James Collins of *Soho-Square, Esq;*

John Franks of *Hampton, Esq;* an Officer of the Board of *Green-cloth*.

Lieutenant-Colonel *John Eberfon*, at *Bath*.

J U L Y.

Preferments.

The Earl of *Middlesex*, Member for *East Grinstead*, and eldest Son to the Duke of *Dorset*, made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of *Wales*.

John Campbell, Esq; appointed Lieutenant-Colonel to Colonel *Archibald Hamilton's Regiment* of Foot.

— Daniel,

— Daniel, Esq; appointed Lieutenant-Colonel to Colonel Hargrave's Regiment of Foot.

Charles Fitzroy, Esq; Captain in Colonel Cope's Regiment of Foot.

Charles Townley, Esq; made York Herald at Arms, in the Room of Philip Jones, Esq; who resign'd.

Francis Hutchinson, Esq; made a Herald at Arms extraordinary, by the Name and Title of Arundel Herald.

Mr. Turner, Brother to Cholmley Turner, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of York, unanimously chosen Register for the North Riding of the said County.

Samuel Sherlock, Esq; made a Captain in the 3d Regiment of Foot Guards.

John Guise, Esq; made Lieutenant-Colonel to the first Regiment of Foot-Guards, in the Room of Major-General Ruffel, deceas'd; Francis Fuller, Esq; First Major; Cha. Frampton, Esq; Second Major; Robert Brackley, Esq; Captain; and Henry d'Auverquerque, Esq; Captain-Lieutenant.

Captain John Stevenson, made Major of the 4th Troop of Life-Guards.

Capt. Graham, made Deputy-Governor of Guernsey.

Joshua Pembroke, Esq; made Receiver-General for Hertfordshire.

Earl of Cholmondeley, made one of the Lords of the Treasury.

Capt. Dansie, made Commander of the Catharine Yacht.

Capt. Proctor, of the Centurion.

James Haldane, Esq; Cornet and Major of the 4th Troop of Horse-Guards.

John Agnew, Town-Adjutant of Berwick.

Richard Dickenson, Esq; Captain of a Company of Invalids.

John Gledhill, Esq; Captain in Colonel Philips's Regiment of Foot.

Captain-Lieutenant Dumaresque, Captain in Brigadier Tyrrell's Regiment.

Benj. Wending, Esq; Captain in a Regiment on the Irish Establishment.

Charles Bodens, Esq; a Captain in the Cold-stream Regiment.

Lord Robert Manners, Brother to the Duke of Rutland, one of the Gentlemen-Ushers to the King in his Room.

— Newman, Captain of the Household at Chelsea Hospital.

— Murray,

Murray, Esq; appointed Major to Colonel *Ponsonby's* Regiment of Foot.

Charles Colwill, Esq; Captain in Colonel *Anstruther's* Regiment of Foot.

Peter Havilland, Esq; Captain in Colonel *Hargrave's* Regiment of Foot.

James Baird, Esq; Captain-Lieutenant in the said Regiment.

William Henderson, Esq; Captain-Lieutenant in Colonel *Anstruther's* Regiment of Foot.

Lieut. *Richard Radley*, Captain-Lieutenant in Brigadier *Tyrell's* Regiment of Foot.

Capt. Lieut. *Symes*, a Captain in Colonel *Reade's* Regiment of Foot.

Lieut. *Budiani*, made Captain-Lieutenant in his Room.

Henry Robinson, Captain of, an Independent Company at *Jamaica*.

Thomas Cockayne, Esq; made a Captain in Colonel *Middleton's* Regiment of Foot.

Marriages.

Hon. *Henry Berkeley*, Esq; younger Brother to the Earl of *Berkeley*, to the Countess Dowager of *Suffolk*.

Sir *Miles Stapleton*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *York*, to Miss *Weston*, a *Yorkshire* Lady of a vast Fortune.

John Lewis of *Gloucestershire*, Esq; a Gentleman of 4000 *l.* per Ann. to Miss *Bond*, Daughter of *Thomas Bond* of *Hertfordshire*, Esq; a 15,000 *l.* Fortune.

Lord *Vere Beauclerc*, next Brother to the Duke of *St. Alban's*, to Miss *Chambers*, eldest Daughter of *Thomas Chambers* of *Hanworth* in *Middlesex*, Esq; a 20,000 *l.* Fortune.

Henry Fane, Esq; Nephew to Baron *Scrope*, and one of the Clerks of the Treasury, to Miss *Rowe*, an Heiress, and Daughter to the Poet-Laureat of that Name.

George Binck of *New Bond Street*, Esq; to a Daughter of Col. *Brer*, a Fortune of 12,000 *l.*

Richard Sheppard, Esq; an eminent Brewer in *Southwark*, to Miss *Wiffingraft*, a 10,000 *l.* Fortune.

Richard Arnold, Esq; an eminent Attorney, to Mrs. *Marescoe*, Widow, Sister and Heiress of *Edmund Jones*, Esq; deceas'd, a 20,000 *l.* Fortune.

George Cooke, Esq; to Miss *Twysden*, youngest Daughter of the late Sir *Thomas Twysden*.

James Pritchard of *Berkshire*, Esq; to Miss *Jemima Candor*, only Daughter of the late Sir *John Candor*.

Lawrence

Lawrence Rawstone of *Lincoln's-Inn*, Esq; to a Daughter of *Richard Langton*, Esq; a Fortune of 10,000*l*.

Mr. Joseph Vandrick, a *Hambourg* Merchant, to *Miss Woodford* of *Hatton* in *Sussex*, with 20,000*l*. Fortune.

Dr. Fullerton, to *Miss Johnson*, Niece to *Sir John Barnard*, and *Alderman Godschall*.

Samuel Deacon of *Durham*, Esq; to *Miss Russel Waterland*, worth 25,000*l*.

— *Ryder* of *Wotton-Basset*, Esq; to *Miss Ebison*, a 16,000*l*. Fortune.

Mr. Leigh of *Staffordshire*, to *Miss Cotton* of *Sunbury*, *Middlesex*, a rich Heiress.

James Ellis, Esq; to *Miss Hughs* of *Colchester*, a Fortune of 12,000*l*.

The Right Hon. Robert Earl of *Carnwath*, to *Miss Vincent* of the *Grange*, near *Doncaster*.

John Fletcher of *Knightsbridge*, Esq; to *Miss Walton*, a 14000*l*. Fortune.

— *Archer* of *Rygate*, Esq; to *Miss Pitts*, an Heiress worth 22000*l*.

Andrew Wachop of *Nidderie* in *Scotland*, Esq; to *Miss Nelly Hume*, Daughter of the late *Lord Kimmergham*.

George Tilby of *Oxfordshire*, Esq; to *Miss Lucy Duke*, a near Relation to *General Sabine*.

Henry Jewry of *Somersetshire*, Esq; to *Mrs. Hull*, Relict of *Mr. Thomas Hull*, late an eminent Merchant of this City.

John Norton of *Kingston upon Thames*, Esq; to *Miss Barnet*, Daughter of the late *James Barnet* of *London*, Esq;

Paul Lilburn of *Morning Thorp* in *Norfolk*, Esq; to *Miss Medley* of *Dublin*.

Births.

The Lady of *Sir Cecil Bishop*, Bart. brought to Bed of a Daughter.

Mrs. Woolaston, Wife of *William Woolaston*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Ipswich*, safely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of the *Hon. William Talbot*, Esq; Son to the *Right Hon.* the *Lord High Chancellor*, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of *Walter Blacket*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Newcastle*, deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady *St. John* of *Bletsoe*, of a Son.

The Dutchess of *Portland* of a Daughter.

The Lady of the *Hon. Richard Arundel*, Esq; of a Daughter.

Deaths.

Dy'd, the Lady of Sir Charles Hardy, Kt. Commander of the Royal *Carolina* Yacht: She was Daughter to *Joshua Burchet*, Esq; Secretary of the Admiralty.

Capt. Pomroy, Commander of his Majesty's Yacht the *Katharine*.

William Boddington, Esq; Surveyor of his Majesty's Forests in *Hampshire*.

Peter Newman of *Cheshire*, aged 94: He dy'd a Bachelor.

At *Tetuan* in *Barbary*, *John Leonard*, Esq; his Majesty's Embassador and Consul General to the Emperor of *Morocco*.

Mrs. Fielding, Relict of *Maurice Fielding*, Esq; worth 16000*l*. Personal Estate, and 450*l*. a Year.

Sir *Jacob Jacobson*, Kt. an eminent Wholesale Ironmonger at the Steel-yard.

At *Portsmouth*, ——— *Stanyford*, Esq; Master Carpenter to the Office of Ordnance there, and formerly Mayor of that Town.

At *Ickenham-Hall* near *Uxbridge*, in the 90th Year of his Age, *Richard Shorediche*, Esq; he had been upwards of 50 Years in the Commission of the Peace for *Middlesex*.

In *Scotland*, the Right Hon. *Margery Murray*, Viscountess of *Stormont*, and Baroness of *Belvaird* and *Scoon*.

Capt. *Jackson*, formerly one of his Majesty's Ships of War, said to have dy'd worth 20,000*l*.

The Relict of *Charles Egerton*, Esq; Member in the Parliament 1722, for *Chipping-Wycomb*, and youngest Brother to the Duke of *Bridgewater*: She was Sister to the Lord *Brooke*, and left two Sons and a Daughter.

Mrs. Gumley, aged 92, who kept the great *China* Warehouse in *Exeter Change* about 15 Years ago.

Capt. *Caleb Wade*, Master Attendant of the Dock-yard at *Portsmouth*.

Mr. Ralph Eden, a rich *Portugal* Merchant.

Cassandra Dutches of *Chandos*, of an Apoplexy. She was the Duke's 2d Wife, and first Cousin, and descended from the ancient Family of *Willoughby* of *Woolerton* in *Nottinghamshire*, Sister of the late Lord *Middleton*, and (by the Mother's Side) to the present Earl *Tilney*. Her Lord attended her to the last Moment of her Life, when he lost in her a Lady of the most exemplary and exalted

Virtues,

Virtues, which render'd her an Honour to her Sex, and an Ornament to the *British Nation*.

Dy'd, Col. *John Garbut*, at *Bath*.

Joseph Paice, Esq; one of the Directors of the Bank.

The Countess Dowager of *Jersey*, Mother the present Earl.

Capt. *John Hooker*, who greatly distinguish'd himself at the Battle of *Almanza*; and declined all Preferments, tho' offer'd a Colonel's Commission, for the Sake of a retir'd Life.

Col. *Charles Walters*, Commander of an Independent Company in the *West-Indies*.

John Wade of *Hampsted*, Esq; formerly an eminent Turkey Merchant.

Mrs. *Warning*, an eminent Preacher among the Quakers.

Cornelius Fotherby of *Northend*, Esq; formerly an eminent Portugal Merchant.

Sir *George Downing* of *Kincardin*, Bart.

Peter Tatnal, Esq; an old Officer in the Land Service.

Christopher Topken of *Forty Hill* near *Enfield*, Esq; an eminent *West-India* Merchant.

James Bromley of *Greenwich*, Esq; an eminent *West-India* Merchant.

Mr. *Andrew Welton*, an eminent Italian Merchant in *Bishopgate-street*.

William Gage of *Yorkshire*, Esq;

In Childbed, the Lady of *George Bellasis* of *Georgestreet*, *Hanover Square*.

Capt. *Caleb Wade*, Master-Attendant of the Dock-yard at *Portsmouth*.

Mr. *Philip Wright*, an Attorney of a large Estate in *Rutlandshire*.

Simon Sweetapple, Esq; in *Conduit-street*.

Joseph Hugget, Esq; at *Bridgnorth*, *Salop*.

Charles Carr, Esq; at *Richmond*, *Surrey*.

William Godwyn, Esq; at *Winchelsea*.

James Winder at *Barnes*, *Surrey*.

The Widow of the late *John Chandois* of *Hereford*, Esq; Her Estate of 2000 *l.* a Year, devolves to her two Daughters, the eldest about Seven Years old.

Bryan Wheelock, Esq; Under-Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantation.

Samuel Bland of *Durham*, Esq;

James Evans, Esq; at *Isteworth*.

John Cobden of Norfolk, Esq;
Jacob Shaw of Hammersmith, Esq;
Thomas Castle, Esq; at Harrow on the Hill.
William Tibbs, Esq; at Mortlack.

AUGUST.

Preferments.

Everard Pawkeney, Esq; made Embassador to the Grand Seignor, in the Room of the Earl of Kinowl.

John Latton, Esq; made Consul-General at Tetuan, in the Room of John Leonard Zollicoffre, deceas'd.

Philip Honywood, Esq; made Governor of Berwick upon Tweed.

Christopher Wyvill, Esq; Commissioner of the Excise in Scotland.

Michael Forster, Esq; chosen Recorder of Bristol, a Place worth 300 l. per Ann.

Mr. Edmund Clarke, made Head Examiner at the Excise-Office, for the London Brewery.

Francis Sayran, Esq; made a Captain in Col. Kane's Regiment of Foot.

John Johnson, Esq; an Exempt and Captain in the 3d Troop of Horse Guards.

Robert Gifford, Esq; Exempt and Captain in the 4th Troop ditto.

Mr. Justice De Veil, appointed by the Duke of Newcastle (Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex) Lieutenant Colonel of the Blue Regiment of Militia, and one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the said County.

Mr. Bickerton of Hardwicke, made Commissary of the Packet Boats there.

Charles Lord Gathcart, made Governor of Duncannon Fort in Ireland.

Capt. Cockayne, appointed Secretary of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath, in the Room of the Hon. Edward Montague, Esq; who resign'd.

Mr. Gilbraham, first Clerk to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, appointed Under-Secretary to their Lordships, and Mr. Hudson made First Clerk in his Room.

Mr. Jeremiah Idle, Surveyor of Falkstone, made an Inspector of the Customs of London.

Capt. Martin, made a Brigadier in the 4th Troop of Horse Guards.

Henry Robinson, Esq; Inspector-General on the Inland Duties on Coffee, &c.

Samuel Williams, Secretary to the Governor of *Jamaica*, made Secretary to that Island.

Mr. Tho. Pocken, made Surveyor of Houses for *Leicestershire*; *Mr. John Webb*, ditto, for *Berkshire*; and *Mr. Ja. Merriet*, ditto, for *Northamptonshire*.

Andrew Fletcher of *Miltown*, Esq; one of the ordinary Lords of Session, and one of the Commissioners of the Justiciary in *Scotland*, appointed Lord Chief Justice Clerk of that Kingdom.

Marriages.

Jacob Houblon, Esq; Member for *Colchester*, marry'd to a Daughter of *Sir John Hinde Cotton*, Bart.

Edward Hassell, Esq; only Son of the late *Sir Edward Hassell* of *Dolomain* in the County of *Cumberland*, Knt. to *Miss Julia Musgrave*, second Daughter of *Sir Christopher Musgrave* of *Eaden-Hall*, Bart.

Mr. Standard, a wealthy Merchant, to the second Daughter of *Sir Harcourt Masters*, Knt. and Alderman of this City.

Herbert Windsor, Esq; Member of *Cardiff*, and Son to the Lord *Montjoy*, to one of the Sisters and Co-Heiresses of the late *Sir James Clavering* of *Axwell* in *Durham*, Bart. a 60,000*l.* Fortune.

John Gardener of *Derbyshire*, Esq; to *Miss Jane Duvell*, an Heiress of 20,000*l.* Fortune.

Thomas Oliver of *Suffolk*, Esq; to *Miss Katharine Bray*, with 10,000*l.*

—— *Witherstone*, Esq; to *Miss Somerset*, a Fortune of 20,000*l.*

John Newbury of *Framlingham*, *Suffolk*, Esq; to *Miss Rose Spicer*, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.

John Wiggan of *Bedfordshire*, Esq; to *Miss Pearson*, a Fortune of 10,000*l.*

Richard Wynn of *Westbury*, *Wilts*, Esq; to *Miss Campbell*, a Fortune of 12,000*l.*

George Secker of *Norwich*, Esq; to *Mrs. Bailly*, a Widow worth 12,000*l.*

Joseph Wolfey of *Kingston upon Hull*, Esq; to *Miss Elizabeth Cardigan* of *York*, a Fortune of 20,000*l.*

Jacob Wright of *Brook-street*, to *Miss Jenkins*, a 16,000*l.* Fortune.

Doctor Owen, Man-Midwife in *Bow-lane*, and Fellow of *Jesus College Oxford*, to *Doctor Douglass's* eldest Daughter, a Fortune of 10,000*l.*

—— Tracy, Esq; a Gentleman of 3000 l. a Year in Gloucestershire, to Miss Hudson, eldest Daughter of Sir Roger Hudson, a 16,000 l. Fortune.

Mr. Lebert Dorrin, an eminent *Hamburgh* Merchant, to Miss Stall, whose Father is likewise an eminent Merchant in the same Trade.

—— Knipe, Esq; eldest Son of Sir *Andrew Knipe*, to Miss Lloyd, -one of the Co-Heiresses of the Rev. Dr. Lloyd.

Births.

The Lady of *Samuel Child*, Esq; Brother to Sir *Francis Child*, Knt. Alderman of *London*, safely brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of Col. *Onslow* of a Daughter.

The Lady of —— *Hill*, Esq; and Daughter of the late Judge *Powis*, of a Son and Heir.

Deaths.

Mr. *Tasby* an eminent *Italian* Merchant.

Mr. *John Ecclestone* a Quaker, and many Years a Director of the *East-India* Company.

Mr. *Peter Whichello*, head Examiner at the *Excise-Office* for the *London* Brewery.

The Lady *Helen Frazer*, Daughter to the Earl of *Balcarras*, and Widow of the Hon. Mr. *Frazer*, Brother to the Lord *Salton*.

Arthur Stanhope, Esq; Grandson to Col. *Ferdinando Stanhope*, who was killed at the Battle of *Marston-Moor*, fighting for King *Charles* the First.

Don *Thomas Cabrillas y Zespedes*, a *Spaniard*, and great *West-India* Merchant, lately arrived from *Cadiz*, in order to recover 70,000 Pieces of Eight which he lent four Years ago to an *English* Gentleman who made a Bankruptcy about a Twelve-month since.

The Rev. Mr. *Keith*, who suffer'd very much in *Scotland* for adhering to *Episcopacy*; he dy'd in the 87th Year of his Age.

Mr. *Thomas Hopkins* a Money Scrivener, worth 20,000 l.

Isaac Ridgewater of *Kent*, Esq; worth 3000 l. a Year.

The Hon. Mrs. *Anne Donolan*, Relict of *James Donolan* of *Ireland*, Esq; Sister to the Earl of *Strafford*, Maid of Honour to Queen *Anne* when Princess of *Denmark*, and third Daughter of Sir *William Wentworth* of *Yorkshire*, Bart.

John Colley, Esq; a *Spanish* Merchant of *Bristol*, worth 4000 l.

The Right Hon. the Lord *St. George*, Baron of *Hatley St. George* in the County of *Roscommon*, Ireland, Bart. and Vice-Admiral of the Province of *Conaught*. He was descended from the antient Family of *St. George*, seated at *Hatley St. George* in *Cambridgeshire*, in the Reign of *Hen. 1.* One of his Ancestors was sent by King *Charles I.* with the Garter (the Order of *St. George*) to the great *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, who was so pleased with the Fitness of his Name to his Commission, that he gave him the Arms of *Sweden* as an Addition to his Coat Armour.

Arthur Stanhope, Esq; at his Seat in *Yorkshire*.

Robert Toffey of *Essex*, Esq; worth 5000 *l.* per Ann.

The Lady of *Price Devereux*, Esq; Knight of the Shire for *Montgomery*.

Robert Murden, Esq; Brother to Sir *Jeremiah Murden*, who was Sheriff of this City a few Years ago.

George Dukey of *Glamorganshire*, Esq; Having no Issue living, he built an Hospital and School for the poor People in the County; for which he left to it 200 *l.* a Year for ever.

Right Hon. *Edmund Butler*, Lord Viscount *Montgarat* of Ireland: The first Viscount in that Kingdom.

~~Right Hon. *Edward Lord Griffin* Baron of *Baybrooke* in the County of *Northampton*. not dead~~

Sir *Charles Tyrrell* of *Heron-Gate*, *Woodham*, *Martimer-Hall*, and *Springfield-Hall*, in *Essex*, Bart. in the 11th Year of his Age; he is succeeded by his Brother now Sir *John*.

Right Hon. the Lady *Harriot Fitzroy*, second Daughter of his Grace the Duke of *Grafton*.

Mrs. *Henrietta Colby*, a Maiden Lady of 94 Years of Age.

Right Hon. the Lady *Anne Bertie*, youngest Daughter to the Duke of *Ancafter* and *Kestevan*, three Years and a half Old.

John Ware, Esq; High Sheriff of the County of *Bucks*.

Francis Conyers of *Putney*, Esq; formerly an eminent *West-India* Merchant.

Mr. *Joseph Byngnam*, an eminent *West-India* Merchant.

Capt. *Degg*, an old Officer in the Army.

M. *Gouge*, a noted Limner of *Covent Garden*.

Mr. Alderman *Montjoy* of *Bristol*.

John Altham of *Shropshire*, Esq; by a fall from his Horse the Saturday before.

Mr. *Richard*

Mr. Richard Hoare, an eminent Druggist on Snow-hill.

Mr. Richard Chillingworth of St. Andrew's Holbourn, Goldbeater, one of the Deputies of that Ward 'till Christmas last, when he resig'd.

Samuel Stocks of Suffex, Esq; by a fall from his Horse in Pall-Mall.

The Rev. Dr. Bramston, one of the Prebends of Worcester, and Rector of St. Christopher's in this City.

— Stead of Steadhill in Kent, Esq; a famous Cricket Player.

Reverend Mr. Isaac Connette, Minister of the French Chappel in Berwick-street, St. James's.

Joseph Wakefield of Ipswich in Suffolk, Esq;

The Rev. William Mabell, M.A. Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.

Dr. Roke, an eminent Surgeon of Barbadoes, lately arriv'd from thence for the Recovery of his Health.

At his Seat at Clonevoe in King's County in Ireland, William Spring, Esq; Member of Parliament for the Borough of Banagher in that Kingdom.

Francis Roke of Weobley in Hertfordshire, Esq;

At Edinburgh the famous Mr. William Scot, formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy in that University.

Jonathan Andrews, Ensign in Col. Read's Regiment of Foot now at Gibraltar, kill'd in a Duel in Hyde Park, by James Lee of Shropshire, Esq;

The Rev. Mr. Montague, Fellow of Oriel College in Oxford.

George May of Suffolk, Esq;

Benjamin Perrot of Bristol, Esq;

The Rev. Mr. Stuart, Preacher at the Meeting-house in Glasfhouse-street.

Thomas Lonby of Mortlack, Esq;

William Heath of Charlton, Esq; worth 2000 l. a Year.

Edmund Comins of Cheshire, Esq;

Richard Hooper of Greenwich, Esq;

John Forster of St. Alban's, Esq;

The Wife of Mr. Furman, Brandy Merchant in Wallbrook, being starv'd with a hard Gathering in her Throat, and had been kept alive for two Months past with some comfortable Prescriptions apply'd to her Mouth with a Feather.

On June 28, died, in the 89th Year of his Age, Mr. *Thomas Astill*, in *Swallow Court, Rosemary Lane*; the Father of the *Turner's Company*, and the greatest improver of that Art of any Man in his Time; he lived so regular that he was never seen in Drink, or ever heard to swear. He is gone to his Grave with this Character from the Door; that there never was any Parish Officer before or after him, that ever acted so justly and so well by them.

S E P T E M B E R.

Preferments.

The Rev. Mr. *Cartwright*, Minister of *Hornchurch* in *Essex*, presented to the living of *St. Christopher's* behind the Royal Exchange, in the Room of Dr. *Brampton*, deceased.

Samuel Domet, Clerk, presented to the Vicarage of *Bovey Tracey*, in the County of *Devon*, and Diocese of *Exeter*, in the Room of *Samuel Maynard*, deceased.

Edward Stanley and *Richard Dalton*, Esqrs. made Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty.

William Benson, Esq; took Possession of the Office of one of one of the Auditors of the Impress, by Virtue of a Reversion granted him by his late Majesty King *George the First*, in the Room of *Edward Harley*, Esq; deceased.

Ensign *Purdy*, made Lieutenant in Col. *Jones's* Regiment, in the Room of Lieut. *Macclesfield*: And,

Lieut. *Macclesfield*, made a Captain of a Company in the said Regiment, in the Room of Capt. *Belcher*.

The Right Hon. the Earl of *Thomond*, made one of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Sir *James Ferguson* of *Kilkerran*, Bart. Member of Parliament for the Shire of *Sutherland*, appointed one of the Ordinary Lords of the Court of Sessions in *North Britain*, in the Room of the late Lord Justice Clerk, deceased.

The Right Hon. the Lord *Strickan*, appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of Jusiciary in the Room of the Right Hon. the Lord *Milton*, now Lord Justice Clerk.

The Rev. Mr. *William Landgherne*, inducted into the Rectory of *Newport* in the Diocese of *St. David's*.

William Hatton, Esq; appointed a Captain in General *Sutton's* Regiment of Foot.

James Haven of *Somersetshire*, Esq; made a Captain in the Earl of *Rothes's* Regiment of Foot.

Anthony Brown, Esq; made a Tally-Cutter of his Majesty's Court of Receipt in the Exchequer.

James Wilkinson, Esq; made a Captain in his Majesty's Royal Regiment of Horse-Guards, blue, commanded by the Duke of *Argyll*.

John Hill, Esq; made a Captain in the Lord *Mark Ker's* Regiment of Dragoons.

Henry Kelsal, Esq; appointed one of the Commissioners of the Land-Tax, in the Room of *John Williams*, Esq; who resign'd.

Mr. Samuel Wakeman chosen Mayor of *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*.

John Graham, Esq; made Lieutenant Governor of *Guernsey*.

Francis Hutchinson, created *Arundel* Herald of Arms extraordinary.

The Duke of *Richmond*, chosen Mayor of *Chichester*.

Mr. John Garway, chosen Mayor of *Worcester*.

Mr. John Neale, chosen Mayor of *St. Alban's*.

Mr. Spry, in the Country Interest, chosen Mayor of *Exeter*, against *Mr. Hoddy*: The Poll stood 634 to 619.

George Shelley of *Newark upon Trent*, Esq; made Captain of a Company in the Earl of *Effingham's* Regiment of Foot.

Marriages.

Morgan Williams of *Denbigh* in *North-Wales*, Esq; marry'd to Miss *Craddock*, sole Daughter of *John Craddock* of *Chester*, Esq; a young Lady of a considerable Fortune.

Hon. William Wentworth, Esq; to *Mrs. Wynn*, Relict of *Owen Wynn* of *Carmarthenshire*, Esq;

Mr. Murray, Nephew to *Mr. Murray* the Face-Painter, who dy'd about three Months ago, and left him upwards of 40,000 l. to Miss *Turner*, Daughter of *Mrs. Turner* of *Gloucester-street*.

Mr. Dethick, one of the Senior Proctors of Doctor's Commons, aged 70, to a young Woman who liv'd at the Mitre Coffee-house in Doctor's Commons, aged about Twenty-three.

Thomas Borret, Esq; one of the Prothonotaries of the Court of Common-Pleas, to Miss *Scarwen*, Daughter of the late Sir *Thomas Scarwen*, Kt. and Alderman.

Sir Edward Dering of Surrenden Dering in Kent, Bart. one of the Knights of the Shire for that County, to Mrs. Mompesson, a young Widow Lady of 30,000 l. Fortune.

Sir Alexander Staples of the Kingdom of Ireland, Bart. to Miss Abigail Townley, one of the Daughters and Co-heiresses of the late Thomas Townley of the County of Cavan in that Kingdom, Esq;

The hon. Mr. Murray, Son of the Lord Elbank in Scotland, to Mary Margaretta, Lady North and Grey, Relict of the late Lord North and Grey.

Mr. William Pearce, an eminent Surgeon at Bricklayers Hall in Leadenhall Street, to Mrs. Mary Hardy of Mile-End, a Fortune of 10,000 l.

The late Earl of Peterborough, to Mrs. Anastasia Robinson, some Years ago, but the Marriage not talked of till within these few Weeks.

John Sibbs of Ashwell in Rutlandshire, Esq; to Miss Mary Herne of Manchester, a Fortune of 40,000 l.

Dr. Hartley, a Physician at Bury in Suffolk, to a Daughter of the late Mr. Packer of Shellingford Castle, a Fortune of 10,000 l.

Mr. John Watts of Lancaster, to Miss Carolina Tatton.

Thomas Luke of Harrow on the Hill, Esq; to a Daughter of the late John Gumly, Esq; Commissary of the Musters.

Andrew Writches of Scotland, Esq; to Miss Penrose, an 18000 l. Fortune.

Captain Samuel Collet, lately come from the West Indies, with a Fortune of 100,000 l. in Possession, to Miss Lerwen of Lee in Kent: He very generously gave her Fortune to her Sisters.

Ralph Courteville, Esq; to Miss Lucy Green, a Fortune of 25000 l.

William Adams, Esq; to Miss Eleanor Watkins, with 15000 l. Fortune.

William Ebral of Buckinghamshire, Esq; to Miss Carolina Rundal, a Fortune of 18000 l.

Henry Sellers of Roehampton, Esq; to Miss Sophia Clare, a Fortune of 12,000 l.

Archibald Cockburn of Cockpen near Edinburgh, Esq; to Miss Dundas, Sister to the hon. Robert Dundas of Arncliffe, Esq;

James Geddes of Kirkurd in Scotland, Esq; to Miss Elizabeth Grant, Daughter of the hon. Patrick Grant of Elchies, Esq; one of the Lords of Session in that Kingdom.

— Plunket,

— *Plunket*, Esq; Son and Heir to the Lord *Dunsany* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to Miss *Allen*, eldest Daughter of *Francis Allen*, of *St. Wolfson's* near *Dublin*.

Westley Hall of *Salisbury*, Esq; to Miss *Patty Wesley*, Daughter of the late Reverend Doctor *Samuel Wesley*, Rector of *Epworth* in *Lincolnshire*.

Harry Windham, Esq; eldest Son of *Wadham Windham* of *Salisbury*, Esq; to Miss *Penruddock*, Daughter of *William Penruddock* of *Compton* in *Wiltshire*.

George Lunt, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Salt Duty in *Ireland*, to Miss *Katharine Boroughs*, only Daughter of *John Boroughs* of *Cornwall*, Esq;

Births.

The Lady *Skipworth* Wife of Sir *Francis Skipworth*, Bart. safely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

Her Grace the Dutchess of *Devonshire* safely deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Hon. Mrs. *Byng*, Wife of the Hon. *Robert Byng*, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Navy, brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

The Lady *Burton*, Wife of Sir *James Burton*, Bart. deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

The Lady *Hotham*, Wife of Sir *Charles Hotham*, deliver'd of a Son.

Deaths.

Died the Hon. *Edward Harley*, Esq; one of the Auditors of the Impress; he was Brother to the late, and Uncle to the present Earl of *Oxford*.

— The Hon. *George Watson*, Esq; Uncle to the present Earl of *Rockingham*.

— *Hugh Smith*, Brother to Sir *John Smith* of *Long Ashton* in *Somersetshire*, Bart.

— The Right Hon. Sir *William Strickland* of *Boynon* in *Yorkshire*, Bart. Member of Parliament for *Scarborough*: He was several Years Secretary at War.

— The Lady *Puyseraux* Relict of the Marquess de *Puyseraux*.

— Sir *John Darnel*, Knt. the King's Serjeant at Law, and Judge of the Marshal Court.

— The Lady *Howe*, Relict of Sir *Richard Howe* of *Wishford* in *Wiltshire*, Bart.

— Sir *Robert Pollock* of *Pollock* in *Scotland*, Bart.

— The Right Rev. Dr. *Peter Brown*, Bishop of *Cork* in *Ireland*.

— The Hon. *Fairfax Ereskine*, Esq; second Son to the Earl of *Buchan* in Scotland.

— Mrs. *Arabella Butler*, a near Relation of the Duke of *Ormond*.

— The Rev. Mr. *John Taylor*, Rector of *Colston* in *Staffordshire*.

— The Rev. Dr. *Newey*, Dean of *Chichester*.

— The Lady *Brown*, Wife of Sir *John Brown*, Knt.

— *Orlando Hamlen*, Esq; one of the Filazers of the Court of *Common-Pleas*.

— Mr. *George James*, Printer to the City of *London*, and one of the Common-Council Men of *Aldersgate Ward*.

— The Lady *Windford*, Relict of Sir *Thomas Windford* of *Glasshampton* in *Worcestershire*, Bart.

— The Rev. Dr. *Thomas Terry*, *Regius* Professor of the *Greek Tongue* in the University of *Oxford*.

— The Lady *Sudbury*, Wife of the Hon. *Edward Carteret*, Esq; one of the Post-Master Generals.

— Mr. *George Forman*, of *St. Mary Hill*, an eminent Distiller.

— *Frampton Guy*, Esq; Son of the late Sir *Richard Guy*.

— *Thomas Gilbert* of *Bishopsgate-street*, Esq; Lieut. Col. of the *Yellow Regiment* of the *City Train'd Bands*.

— The Hon. *Christopher Montague*, Esq; Uncle to the Earl of *Hallifax*, and first Commissioner of the Excise.

Philip Bennet, Esq; a near Relation to the Earl of *Tankerville*,

— Mrs. *Katharine Ratcliffe*, Relict of *James Ratcliffe*, Esq; a near Relation to the late Earl of *Derwentwater*.

— The Rev. Dr. *Grant*, Vicar of *St. Dunstan's* in the West, *London*.

— *Humphry Brewster* of *Wentham* in *Suffolk*, Esq; worth 12,000 l. per Ann.

— *Robert Tracey*, Esq; aged 80; he was made one of the Justices of the Court of *Common-Pleas* in the Reign of King *William*, in which Post he continued 'till the Death of King *George I*.

— At *Southampton House* in *Bloomsbury-square* in the 26th Year of her Age, of a Consumption, the most Noble *Diana Dutchess* of *Bedford*, &c. Sister to the present Duke of *Marlborough*, youngest Daughter to the late Earl of *Sunderland* and Grandaughter to her Grace the Dutchess Dowager of *Marlborough*.

— *Francis Popham*, Esq; descended from Judge *Popham*; he had an Estate of 6000 l. a-Year.

— Mr.

— Mr. *Yardley*, in the Fleet Prison, where he had been confined ten Years in Execution of a Debt of 100 *l.* He had 700 *l.* per Ann. and left in his Chamber, Effects and Securities to the Value of 5000 *l.*

— Mrs. *Carolina Godfrey*, Relict of *James Godfrey* of *Basingstoke*, *Hampshire*, Esq; and a near Relation of the Duke of *Portland*.

O C T O B E R.

Preferments.

Sir *John Bernard*, Kt. and Alderman of *Dowgate-Ward*, and *Robert Godschall*, Esq; Alderman of *Bishopsgate-Ward*, were on the 28th of *September* sworn into their Office of Sheriffs for the City of *London* and County of *Middlesex*.

Lieutenant Gascoign of the *Aldbrough*, made Captain of the Hawk Sloop.

Richard Aldworth, *Edward Young*, *William Cleland*, *Thomas Medlycott*, and *John Bromfield*, Esqrs. together with *Henry Kelsall*, Esq; appointed his Majesty's Commissioners for the Duties on Houses.

John Fanshawe, D.D. made Greek Professor in the University of *Oxford*.

Marquess of Carnarvon, made Master of the Horse to the Prince of *Wales*.

Dr. Thomas Pellet chosen President of the College of Physicians, in the Room of *Sir Hans Sloan*, who resign'd.

Right Hon. *Henry Boyle*, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons in *Ireland*, made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue there, in the Room of

Dr. Henry Coghill made Chancellor of the Exchequer there, in the Room of *Mr. Boyle*.

George Heathcote, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Southwark*, unanimously elected Alderman of *Wallbrook Ward*.

Dr. John Hollings of *Trinity College*, *Cambridge*, Son of *Dr. Hollings*, Physician to his Majesty, appointed Physician in Ordinary to the Prince of *Wales*.

The Rev. *Mr. Brigden*, made Chaplain to the new Lord Mayor.

Hon. *Charles Maitland*, Son to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, made an Ensign in *Col. Middleton's* Regiment of Foot.

James Murray, Esq; made Receiver-General and Cashier of the Customs in *Scotland*.

— *Lequesne*,

— *Lequesne*, Esq; elected Alderman of *Broad-street* Ward.

George Williams, Esq; made Comptroller of the Lottery for the Year 1712.

Right Hon. Sir *John Williams*, Kt. sworn Lord Mayor of the City of London.

Marriages.

Henry Hagdon of *Yorkshire*, Esq; to *Miss Lutteriche*, a Fortune of 12000 *l*.

Thomas Probyn of *Surrey*, Esq; to *Miss Lacy*, with 400 *l*. per Ann. besides large Sums in the Funds.

The Rev. Mr. *Cheveneux*, Chaplain and Privy Purse to the Princess of *Orange*, marry'd at *Loo* to *Miss Dive*, Maid of Honour to her Royal Highness.

Col. *Mordaunt*, Grandson of the late Earl of *Peterborough*, to the Countess Dowager of *Pembroke*.

Sir *Alexander Murray* of *Malgum*, sometime since marry'd in *Scotland* to *Miss Graham*, Daughter to the Laird of *Balgown*.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount *Harcourt*, to *Miss Le Bas*, Niece to Mr. *Jennings* of *Bedford Row*, a Fortune of 60,000 *l*.

Colonel *John Schutz*, to *Miss Haynes*, a Fortune of 20,000 *l*.

Earl of *Ankram*, Son to the Marquess of *Lothian*, to the Lady *Caroline d'Arcy*, Sister to the Earl of *Holderness*, a 20,000 *l*. Fortune.

Mr. *Howard*, who lately fin'd for the Office of Sheriff of *London*, to the Daughter of the late Rev. Mr. *Nesbit*.

Col. *Johnson* of the 2d Regiment of Foot Guards, to Mrs. *Acton* of *Clarges-street*.

Peter Tresham of *Bedfordshire*, Esq; to *Miss Carolina Temple*.

M. *Vantrifs*, a Dutch Gentleman, to the Lady *Catharine Grey*, Daughter to the Earl of *Stamford*.

Sir *James Dritchley* of *Ireland*, Bart. to *Miss Henrietta Walton*, only Daughter and Heiress of *William Walton* of *Middlesex*, Esq; deceas'd, a 30,000 *l*. Fortune.

Births.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Augustus Fitz-Roy*, second Son to the Duke of *Grafton*, safely brought to Bed of a Son.

The Lady *Ayliffe*, Wife of Sir *Joseph Ayliffe*, deliver'd of a S. n.

The

The Lady of *Thomas Gibson*, Esq; Son to the Bishop of London, and one of the Clerks of the Treasury, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

A Woman of *Irish Town* near *Ringlend* by *Dublin*, deliver'd of two Boys and a Girl; and another Woman of *Thomas-street* in *Dublin*, of two Girls and a Boy.

Mrs. *Cambre* of *Stoke Newington*, deliver'd of three Sons, christen'd by the Names of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and are all likely to live.

The Lady *Hotham*, Wife of *Sir Charles Hotham*, Bart. deliver'd of a Son.

Deaths.

Died *John Birch* of *Garnstone* in the County of *Hereford*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Wechley* in the said County: He was made a Serjeant at Law in the Year 1705, and in 1730 Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer.

— *Charles Boone*, Esq; formerly Governor of *Bombay*, and late one of the Directors of the *East-India Company*: He was a Member in the last Parliament for *Ludgershall* in *Wiltshire*, as his Son is in the present.

— *Col. Kingsman*, Lieut. Col. and Captain in the *Coldstream Regiment* of Foot Guards.

— Lady *Rachel Cavendish*, youngest Daughter of the Duke of *Devonshire*.

— *George Dennis*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Leskard* in *Cornwall*, and Comptroller of the Lotteries.

— At *Edinburgh* the Right Hon. the Lady *Anne Allardice*, Widow of *George Allardice*, and Sister to the Earl of *Finlater* and *Seafield*.

— *Sir John Tash*, Knt. Alderman of *Wallbrook Ward*: He was one of the most considerable Wine Merchants in *London*, and formerly kept the *Castle Tavern* in *Fleet-street*. He died in the 61st Year of his Age worth 200,000 l.

— *Sir William Courtenay* of *Powderham-Castle*, Bart. one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Devon*.

— *Mr. Joseph Collier*, one of the Cashiers at the Bank of *England*.

— At his Seat at *Doniblisle* in the County of *Fife* in *Scotland*, in the 76th Year of his Age, the Right Hon. *Charles Earl of Murray*, Lord *Down* and *Columfinch*, Hereditary Sheriff of the Shire of *Elgin*, Knight of the most Ancient Order of the Thistle, and descended from *James Stuart*, Prior of *St. Andrew*, natural Son of *James V.* King of *Scotland*, and afterwards Regent of that Kingdom in the minority of *James VI.* His Lordship

ship married the Lady *Anne Campbel*, Sister to his Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, and Widow to the Earl of *Lauderdale*.

— At *Preston* in *Lancashire* aged near 100, the Lady *Stanley*.

— The Hon. *James Bertie*, Esq; second Son to the late Earl of *Abingdon* and Brother to the present Earl: He was Knight of the Shire for *Middlesex* in most of *Queen Anne's* Parliaments, in every one called by his late Majesty, and in the last Parliament.

— In the 84th Year of his Age, *Christopher Spicer*, Esq; about four Years ago he died for Sheriff.

— Lady Dowager *Southwell*, Mother to the Right Hon. the Lord *Southwell* of *Ireland*.

— *William Wright*, Esq; formerly a Commissioner of the Navy, and Captain of a Man of War in the late Wars with *France*.

— In a very advanced Age, at his House in *Bloomsbury-square*, the Father of the City, *Sir William Humsfrys*, Bart. Alderman of Bridge Ward without. He was Lord Mayor of *London* the first Year of his late Majesty.

— *James Reddal* of *Buckinghamshire*, Esq; he died suddenly at Dinner.

— *Nicholas Hooper* of *Clapham*, Esq; aged 90.

— Countess Dowager of *Winchelsea*.

— *John Pearcehouse* of *Greenwich*, Esq; formerly Captain of a Man of War.

— *John Forbes* of *Newhall* in *Scotland*, Esq; one of the Faculty of Advocates in that Country, and one of the Sheriffs of *Mid-Lothian*.

— At *Dublin* *Sir George Barnwell*, Bart.

— *Joseph Jenking*, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the late Lottery.

N O V E M B E R.

Preferments.

George Clive of *Lincoln's Inn*, Esq; made Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer.

John Dayle, Esq; appointed Comptroller of the Foreign Post Office.

Earl of *Granard* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, made Governor of *Barbadoes*.

Rev. Dr. *Adams* Master of *Sidney-Sussex* College, elected Vice Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*.

Horatio

Horatio Townshend, Esq; and *Sir Thomas Robinson*, Bart. made Commissioners of the Excise in the Room of *Christopher Montague*, Esq; deceas'd, and *Roger Gale*, Esq; who resign'd.

Robert Foulks, L. L. D. admitted an Advocate in the High Court of Admiralty.

Capt. Lee of the first Regiment of Foot Guards made *Capt. Lieut.* in the Room of the late Count *Nassau*.

Lieut. Long made *Capt. Lieut.* in *Brigadier Churchill's* Regiment of Dragoons, in the Room of *Capt. Jekyll* promoted to the Command of a Troop in the said Regiment.

— *Talbot*, Esq; Son to the Lord Chancellor, appointed by his Father, Clerk of the Custodies in the Lunatick Office.

Sir William Yonge, Secretary at War, sworn one of his Majesty's Privy Council.

Sir James Ferguson of *Kilberren*, appointed a Lord of the Session in Scotland.

John Strichen, Esq; one of the Lords of the Session in Scotland, appointed likewise one of the Lords Commissioners of the Court of Justiciary there.

Mr. Westfall made one of the Pages of the Presence to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Lord Harcourt made a Lord of the Bedchamber to his Majesty.

Mr. Gale made one of the Associates of the Common Pleas.

Mr. Gambride appointed Master Sail-maker at *Sheernefs*, with 200*l.* per Annum Sallary.

The Hon. *Dr. Moleworth* made his Majesty's Physician General in *Minorca*.

Marriages.

Hon. *Mr. Elphinston*, third Son of Lord *Elphinston*, privately married to the Lady *Clementina Fleming*, only Daughter and Heiress of the Earl of *Wigton*.

Hon. *Lodowick Grant*, Esq; to Lady *Margaret Ogilvie*, eldest Sister to the Earl of *Seafield*.

Sir Thomas Cave of *Stanford*, *Northamptonshire*, Bart. to *Miss Davis* of *Birmingham*, a Fortune of 30,000*l.*

James Gray of *Hampton*, Esq; to *Miss Jane Ellis*, with 16,000*l.*

Dr. Cecil, Bishop of *Bangor*, to *Miss Lumley*, Sister to *Sir James Lumley*, Bart.

James Webster, Esq; to Miss Lawson of Brook-street, a Fortune of 10,000 l.

Thomas Lake of Harrow on the Hill, Esq; to Miss Gumley, Sister to the Hon. Mrs. Pulteney, a Fortune of 25,000 l.

Jeremiah Howard, Esq; a Relation to the Earl of Es-
ingham, to Miss Pearcehouse, a 16,000 l. Fortune.

Capt. James Kettle, one of the Elder Brothers of Tri-
nity House, to Mrs. Eliz. Corfellis, only surviving Daugh-
ter of the late Nicholas Corfellis of Wivenhoe in Sussex, Esq;
Mr. Corfellis was some Time Member of Parliament for
Colchester, and brought into the House of Commons that
memorable Bill for a Reward of 100,000 l. for taking the
Pretender dead or alive, in Case he should attempt to
land in any Part of Great Britain or Ireland.

John Raymond of Ratcliffe, Esq; to Miss Britannia
Lamb of Hackney, a 10,000 l. Fortune.

Alexander Cunningham, Esq; Member for the Shire of
Renfrew, to Mrs. Catharine Campbell, Widow of John
Aird, late Provost of Glasgow.

Births.

The Right Hon. the Lady Weymouth, Daughter of the
Lord Carteret, and Wife of the Lord Viscount Weymouth,
safely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of Thomas Clutterbuck, Esq; one of the Lords
of the Admiralty, deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of — Stanton, Esq; Member of Parliament
for Galway in Ireland, brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Widow of Ralph Standish Howard, Esq; safely
deliver'd of a Posthumous Son and Heir.

Deaths.

Died the Rev. Dr. Henry Colliby of Berkshire.

— The Lady Susannah Sewel, Relict of the late Sir
Joseph Sewel, Knt.

— In Scotland, the Right Hon. Thomas Earl of Had-
dington, Baron of Bynny and Byris, Knight of the An-
cient Order of the Thistle, Lord Lieutenant of West Lo-
thian, and one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy
Council.

— Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, at Lisbon,
of a Flux by eating Grapes, aged 77. He serv'd in the
Algier and Tangier Wars, and was one of the Peers that
came over with the Prince of Orange at the Revolution,
and was afterwards at the Head of the Treasury 'til 1694.
In 1705 he was declared Commander in Chief of the
Forces

Forces sent to *Spain*, and joint Admiral with *Sir Cloudefly Shovel*: On his Return he was made Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, and received the Thanks of the Commons for his great Services in *Spain*. In 1711 he was made General of all the Marine Forces in *Great Britain*, in which Post he continued 'till his Death. In 1713 he was installed Knight of the Garter, and soon after sent a second Time Embassador to *Turin*. He is succeeded by his Grandson *Charles* now Earl of *Peterborough*.

— *Edmund Sheffield* Duke of *Buckingham*, Duke and Marquess of *Normanby* and Earl of *Musgrave*, &c. at *Rome* aged 21. The Title of Duke is extinct, but that of *Baron Sheffield* descends to a Cousin, and 6000 *l.* a Year to *Capt. Herbert*, who has since taken the Name of *Sheffield*, a natural Son of the late Duke: 4000 *l.* a Year by the *Allom Mines* reverted to the Crown, and have since been given to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*.

— The Lady *Dudley*, Relict of the late *Sir William*, and Mother to the late Earl of *Thomond*.

— *M. Thomas*, Dean of *Malden* in *Kent*, aged 108. He was 20 Years old when *King Charles I.* was beheaded, and formerly Fellow of *University College, Oxford*, but being a *Roman Catholick* was deprived at the Revolution: He wrote some Pieces in Defence of that Revolution, which were privately printed in his Master's Lodgings; and he stood on the Pillory *Dec. 18, 1691*, for concealing a Libel, since which he subsisted mostly on Charity.

— *Mary Perkins* a blind Woman, who when a Child was stole by two Beggars who put out her Eyes and went about the Streets begging with her. They were afterwards taken and confess'd the Fact, but died in *Newgate* before the Sentence was executed upon them.

Mrs. Bridges Mother of the Right Hon. *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons.

— *Whitworth*, Esq; Captain of a Troop of Dragoons in *Brigadier Churchill's* Regiment.

— *Sir Kendrick Anderson*, Bart. whose Ancestors had very large Possessions in the County of *Hertford*.

— *Mrs. Graham*, Wife of *William Graham* of *Platten* near *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, Esq; she was Daughter to the late Lord *Lansdown*.

— *Mr. D'Arcy*, Page of Honour to his Majesty and Nephew to *Sir Conyers D'Arcy* Comptroller of his Majesty's Household.

— Sir *Dewey Bulkeley*, Knt. some time Member for *Bridport* in *Dorsetshire*.

— *Berry*, Esq; a half-pay Officer, and Landlord of most of *Berry-street*, *St. James's*. He was above 100 Years old, and had been an Officer in the Service of King *Charles* the First.

— The Lady of Sir *John Eyles*, Bart. Alderman of *Vintry Ward*: She was Daughter of *Joseph Haskin Styles* of *London*, Esq;

— The Lady of ~~——~~ *Hammond*, Esq; Son of Sir *William Hammond*, Knt. an eminent *Turkey Merchant*.

— Miss *Jane Frederick*, Daughter of the late Sir *Thomas Frederick*, Bart.

— Sir *Edward Whitaker*, Bart. who had formerly a Flag in the Royal Navy.

— *Martin Basille*, Esq; in the 84th Year of his Age. He was Treasurer to King *James James II*.

— *Jacob Tonson*, jun. Esq; aged about 52, reckon'd to have dy'd worth above 100,000*l*. *Jacob Tonson*, sen. Esq; his Uncle, who belonged to the memorable *Kit-Cat Club*, is now living, aged about 80.

— Mrs. *Haddock*, Wife of *Nicholas Haddock*, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the White.

— In the Press-yard in *Newgate*, *Charles Wilkinson*, Esq; formerly Receiver-General for *Yorkshire*. He has been confined some Years on an Extent, being indebted to the Government in a very considerable Sum.

— At *Dublin*, Dr. *Edward Tennison*, Lord Bishop of *Offory*; he was Chaplain and a near Relation of Dr. *Tennison*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and mov'd from a Prebend of that Cathedral, to the above See.

D E C E M B E R.

Preferments.

Henry Kensall, Esq; one of the chief Clerks of the *Treasury Office*, and Member in the last Parliament for *St. Michel's* in *Cornwall*, took the Oaths before the Bench of Justices at *Westminster-Hall*, to qualify himself for the Place of one of the Commissioners of the Land-Tax, in the Room of *John Williams*, Esq; who resign'd some Time since.

Robert Paget, Esq; appointed a Lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Foot in *Ireland*, commanded by Col. *John Armstrong*.

Lieut.

Lieut. *Chabane* made Captain-Lieutenant in Brigadier General *Churchill's* Regiment of Dragoons, in the Room of

Capt. *Jekyl*, promoted to the Command of a Troop in the said Regiment; and

Cornet *Goddart*, made a Lieutenant, in the Room of Lieut. *Chabane*, promoted.

The Rev. Mr. *Edward Mainwaring*, M. A. presented to the Rectory of *Weverham*, worth 150*l.* per Ann. by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of *Chester*.

The Rev. and Hon. Mr. *Charles Hervey*, fifth Son to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Bristol*, presented to the Living of *Spraughton* in *Suffolk*, vacant by the Death of the late Rev. Mr. *Beefston*.

Thomas Wright, Esq; appointed Captain of a Company of Foot, commanded by Brigadier-General *Sutton*.

The Rev. Mr. *Hoadley*, Son to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, sworn in Chancellor of the Diocese of *Winchester*.

Thomas Hinckman, Esq; a private Gentleman in the Queen's Regiment of Horse, appointed a Cornet in the Royal Regiment of Blues.

Mr. *John Ham*, late Master of the Mathematical School at *Portsmouth*, (which Place he resign'd) made Purser of the *Ramellies*, a second Rate of 90 Guns.

The Right Rev. Dr. *Robert Clayton*, Bishop of *Killala* and *Achonry* in *Ireland*, translated to the Bishoprick of *Cork* and *Ross*.

The Right Rev. Dr. *Mordecai Cary*, Bishop of *Clonsfert* and *Kilmacduagh*, translated to the Bishoprick of *Killala* and *Achonry*; and

Dr. *John Whetcombe*, made Bishop of *Clonsfert* and *Kilmacduagh*.

Col. *John Pyott*, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel of the fourth Troop of Life-Guards, appointed Constable of *Dublin* Castle, in the Room of Col. *Hutton*, who lately resign'd.

Thomas Abney, Esq; one of his Majesty's Counsel learned in the Law, is appointed Judge of the *Marshalsea* Court, in the Room of Sir *John Darnell*, Kt. deceas'd.

Hector Hamon, Esq; appointed Major of Col. *Howard's* Regiment of Foot, in the Room of Major *Albriton*, deceas'd.

Robert Maynard, Esq; made Captain of a Company, in the Room of Major *Hamon*.

Lieut. *Usher*, made Captain-Lieutenant to the Colonel's own Company, in the Room of Capt. *Maynard*.

Ensign *George Dowding*, made Lieutenant, in the Room of Lieutenant *Usher*. And,

Robert Pemberton, Gent. made Ensign, in the Room of Mr. *Dowding*.

John Howe, Esq; made Captain of a Company in Brigadier-General *Piercy Kirke's* Regiment of Foot, in the Room of Captain *Nicholls*, deceas'd.

Lieut. *Robert Laton*, made Captain-Lieutenant in the Brigadier-General's own Company, in the Room of Lieutenant *Howe*.

Ensign *Edward Windus*, made Lieutenant, in the Room of Lieutenant *Laton*; and,

William Arnott, Gent. made Ensign, in the Room of Mr. *Windus*.

Newton Barton, Esq; a Lieutenant in Brigadier *Kirke's* Regiment of Foot, made Captain of a Company in Col. *St. Clair's* Regiment of Foot, in the Room of Captain *Horler*, deceas'd.

Edward Brereton, Esq; also made Captain of a Company in Col. *St. Clair's* Regiment of Foot, in the Room of Capt. *Potts*, deceas'd.

Lieut. *Richard Ellis*, made Captain-Lieutenant to the Colonel's own Company, in the Room of Capt. *Brereton*.

Ensign *James Burleigh*, made Lieutenant, in the Room of Captain *Ellis*; and,

Henry Malcolm, Gent. made Ensign, in the Room of Mr. *Burleigh*.

Lieut. *Rice Gwynne*, made First Lieutenant in his Majesty's own Royal Regiment of *Welch Fusiliers*, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Jos. Sabine*, in the Room of Lieut. *Barton*, who is to be placed on Half-Pay, in the Room of Capt. *King*, a reduced Captain of Lieutenant-General *Wynne's* late Regiment of Foot, who retires from the Service.

Gregory Berners, Gent. made Second Lieutenant, in the Room of Lieut. *Gwynne*.

Ensign *Charles Jackson*, made Lieutenant in his Majesty's own Regiment of Foot commanded by Brigadier-General *Piercy Kirke*, in the Room of Lieutenant *Barton*, preferr'd. And,

William Cleland, Gent. made Ensign, in the Room of Mr. *Jackson*.

Cornet *Burrard*, of the Queen's own Royal Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by Brig. Gen. *William Kerr*,
made

made Ensign in Major-General *Henry Groves's* Regiment of Foot, in the Room of Ensign *Richmond Webb*; and,

Ensign *Webb*, to be Cornet of a Troop in the above Regiment of Dragoons, in the Room of Cornet *Henry Burrard*.

Ensign *Charles St. Maurice*, of Col. *Kane's* Regiment of Foot, to be Lieutenant to Capt. *Montagu's* Company in the Hon. Col. *Edw. Montagu's* Regiment of Foot, in the Room of Lieut. *Dunbar*, who has resign'd; and,

Thomas Dalton, Gent. made Ensign, in the Room of Mr. *St. Maurice*.

Lieut. *Paul Pigon*, a reduced Lieutenant of Col. *Lanoe's* Regiment, made Adjutant in his Majesty's own Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. *Charles Lanoe*, in the Room of Adjutant *Edward Goldsmith*, who is to be placed on Half-Pay, in the Room of Lieut. *Pigon*.

Thomas Bowyer, Gent. made Ensign in Brigadier-General *Jasper Clayton's* Regiment of Foot, in the Room of Ensign *Campbell*, deceas'd.

His Majesty has been pleased to appointed *Archibald Bontein*, Gent. to be Lieutenant to Capt. *Robinson's* Independent Company in *Jamaica*, in the Room of Lieut. *Christy*, deceas'd.

Also to appoint *Jos. Knowles*, Gent. to be Lieutenant to Capt. *Merrick's* Independent Company in the said Island, instead of Lieut. *Dell*, deceas'd; and,

John Neale, Gent. a reduced Quarter-Master of Col. *Sarland's* late Regiment of Dragoons, and now on Half-Pay, to be Lieut. of Capt. *Delaunay's* Independent Company of Foot in the said Island, in the Room of Lieut. *Martin*, deceas'd.

The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Key*, appointed Chaplain to Lieutenant-General *Thomas Wetham's* Regiment of Foot, in the Room of his Brother the Rev. Mr. *John Key*, who resign'd.

The Rev. Mr. *Thomas Winder*, appointed Chaplain to Col. *John Armstrong's* Regiment of Foot, in the Room of the Rev. Mr. *Auchmuty*, who resign'd.

Mr. *Andrew Cranford*, appointed Surgeon in the Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by the Right Hon. the Lord *Mark Kerr*, in the Room of Mr. *James Thompson*, who has commenced Physician.

Maurice Bagot, Gent. appointed Adjutant in the said Regiment, in the Room of Lieut. *John Bright*, who has retir'd from the Service, on Account of his ill State of Health.



The Bill of Mortality for the Year 1735.

By the General Bill of all the Burials in this City and Suburbs, from the 12th of December 1734, to the 9th of December 1735, it appears, that in the 97 Parishes within the Walls, were bury'd 2038.

And in the five largest Out-Parishes, as follows, viz.

S. Dunstan Stepney	911	S. Martin in the Fields	1252
S. Giles Cripplegate	503	S. James Westminster	1149
S. Giles in the Fields	1024		

Casualties this Year.

Broken Limbs	4	Made away themselves	49
Burnt	6	Murder'd	15
Choak'd at Dinner	1	Overlaid	97
Drown'd	99	Scalded	2
Excessive Drinking	69	Starv'd	3
Executed	19	Strangled	8
Found dead	19		
Kill'd by Falls, and several other Accidents	54		

In all 438.

Aged 1595. Convulsions 7572. Fever 2544. Small-Pox 1594.

Christen'd, Males 8658. Females 8215. In all 16873.
Buried, Males 11699. Females 11839. In all 23538.

Decreas'd in the Burials this Year 2524.

